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ABSTRACT

This text for use in teaching Koniag Alutiiq, the Kodiak Island dialect of Alutiiq, contains 20 units on its phonology, morphology, and grammar. Each unit consists of 4 to 13 lessons. The alphabet used is one developed for the Kenai Peninsula dialect and adapted slightly for Koniag Alutiiq. The first unit focuses on phonological patterns and prosodic rules. The second addresses the treatment of number in grammar. Subsequent units present a comprehensive grammar. Each unit contains vocabulary lists and some units also include a folk tale text. The textbook was developed with the extensive assistance of Alaskan native speakers. Appendices include noun and verb endings, a vocabulary list, and lists of postbases and enclitics. (MSE)

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CLASSROOM GRAMMAR OF KONIAG ALUTIIQ, KODIAK ISLAND DIALECT

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CLASSROOM GRAMMAR OF KONIAG ALUTIIQ, KODIAK ISLAND DIALECT

Written by Jeff Leer
in consultation with Nina Zeedar
and other elders

A product of the collaboration
of the Alaska Native Language Center
and Kodiak Area Native Association

Volume I: Units 1-20

Preliminary draft
September 4, 1990

This is a preliminary draft edition; it may contain errors and omissions, which are attributable solely to the author.

Classroom Grammar of Koniag Alutiiq,
Kodiak Island Dialect
Jeff Leer with Nina Zeedar and other elders

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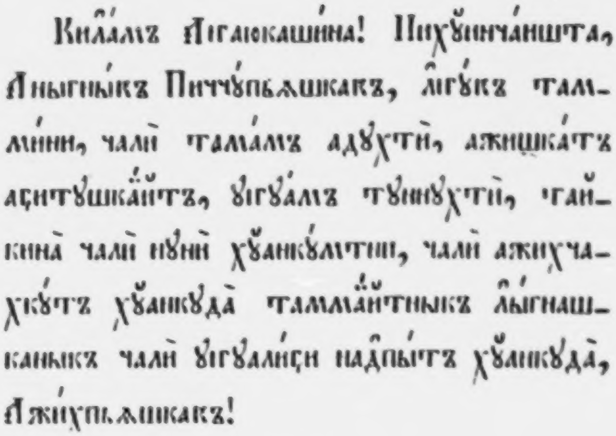
Dedication



Кил̑а́мъ Аигаюкаши́на! Нихȣ̆инча́ништа, Аныгны́къ Пиччȣ́пьашкакъ, а̑лгȣ́къ тамми́ни, чалѝ тама́мъ адȣхтѝ, ашицка́тъ асинтȣ̆шкӓйтъ, ȣ̆гȣ́амъ тȣннȣхтѝ, тайкинà чалѝ нȣ̆нѝ хȣ̆анкȣ́мтини, чалѝ ашихчахкȣ́тъ хȣ̆анкȣдà таммӓйтныкъ л̑ы́гнашканыкъ чалѝ ȣ̆гȣали́ци нал̑пы́тъ хȣ̆анкȣдà, Ашѝхпьашкакъ!

Qilam Angayuqasinaa!
Neguingca'ista, Anerneq Picuupiasqaq,
elnguq tamiini, cali tamam aturtii,
asisqat akitusqait,
ungu'am tun'urtii,
taikina cali nuni guangkumteni,
cali asircarkut guangkuta tamaitnek llernasqanek
cali ungu'aliki natpet guangkuta, Asirpiasqaq!

> (From the Kodiak Aleut Primer, translated into Alutiiq by Gerasim Zyrianov and Kosma Uchilishchev, transcribed and edited by Ilia Tyzhnev, published by the Synodal Press at St. Petersburg in 1848.)

O Heavenly King!
The Comforter, the Spirit of Truth,
who art everywhere and fillest all things,
treasury of blessings,
and giver of life,
come and abide in us,
and cleanse us from every impurity
and save our souls, O Good One!

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INTRODUCTION

The present preliminary version of this book is the product of the collaboration of many people, and will require much further collaboration before it takes final shape. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Nina Zeedar, with whom I consulted on many details of the grammar in working on the present volume, and who in addition has patiently gone over the lexical data base of the forthcoming Alutiiq Dictionary. Mrs. Zeedar has spent most of her life in Old Harbor and Kaguyak. The present grammar therefore represents mainly her dialect, although where differences were known to me from other speakers, I tried to point them out. Certainly, however, much work remains to be done in documenting dialectal differences. Other elders too numerous to name here have been helpful in providing information of use here, in particular Mara Andrewvitch, Nick Ignatin, Paul Kahutak, Larry and Martha Matfay, and Anakenty Zeedar, all of Old Harbor.

Due to a lack of prepared texts in Kodiak Alutiiq, I have attempted to adapt traditional stories originally told in the Kenai Peninsula dialect to the Kodiak dialect. The original storytellers are Sergius Moonin, Margaret Moonin, and Walter Meganack, elders from Port Graham. There undoubtedly remain defects in these adaptations, which remain unchecked with Kodiak speakers. I hope that these texts can in the final version be supplanted or supplemented by authentic Kodiak texts from speakers representing all Kodiak dialects.

The writing of these lessons was made possible by the collaboration of the Alaska Native Language Center and the Kodiak Area Native Association, which supported me for a full month during the writing of these materials, K.A.N.A. is also currently undertaking the recording and translation of Kodiak Alutiiq folklore, which will surely prove invaluable for students of the language as well as the Kodiak people and the general public. I hope that some of these texts will find their way into future editions of this grammar. In particular, I would like to thank Rick and Philomena Knecht, without whose inspiration and support this book might not have been undertaken.

The lessons were written in the course of a class on Kodiak Alutiiq taught at the University of Alaska Fairbanks during the 1989-90 academic year. My students were extremely helpful in noticing errors and inconsistencies, as well as asking the right questions. Among these I would particularly like to thank Dominique Desson, Carl Gatter, Sven Haakanson, Jr., Nobukatsu Minoura, Patricia Partnow, Irene Reed, and Max David Todhunter, who stuck with me for both semesters. Since I did not have time to write both the units and the homework, they were obliged to make their own homework. I was not able to include their exercises in this draft, but such will be necessary for the final version.

The writing system used in this volume was developed by Derenty Tabios and myself for use in the Kenai Peninsula Alutiiq language programs of English Bay and Port Graham, and adapted slightly for the Kodiak dialect. A few orthographic changes were instituted during the course of writing these materials, namely the substitution of underlined *m*, *n*, and *ng* for old *hm*, *hn*, and *hng* (the voiceless nasals); *tes* for *ces*; and *gû* and *kû* for *gw* and *kw*. These are relatively minor revisions that should not be much of a hindrance for those using the older system. A more important orthographic change has been contemplated but not introduced here: the substitution of *h* for *r* (the uvular fricative) and *r* for *ř* (like Russian or English *r*). These changes, although they would undoubtedly make things easier for people used to the English orthography, would entail a major adjustment for those used to the old system. This proposal will therefore remain a matter for future discussion.

Despite the valuable contributions of elders and students, many errors and inconsistencies doubtless remain in the present preliminary draft, for which I alone am responsible. In particular, since I am most familiar with the Kenai Peninsula dialect, I might sometimes have wrongly used vocabulary and grammatical constructions from this dialect in place of the true Kodiak forms. It is to be hoped that such errors will be corrected in future editions of this book.

Jeff Leer
Alaska Native Language Center
September 4, 1990

UNIT 1

The sound system of Alutiiq

1.1. Consonants

Stops	p	t	c	k	q
Voiced fricatives	w	l	y		
Voiceless fricatives		ll	s	g	r
Voiced nasals	m	n		ng	
Voiceless nasals	m̲	n̲		n̲g̲	

The consonants l̲ and l̲l̲ are **laterals**, made with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge (gums behind front upper teeth), and the sides of the tongue pulled away from the upper teeth on either side, so that the air passes through one or both sides of the tongue.

The consonants c̲ and s̲ sound roughly like English c̲h̲ and s̲h̲ (for some speakers s̲ is more like English s̲). They are **alveolopalatals**, made with the part of the tongue just behind the tip approaching the alveolar ridge.

The consonants k̲, g̲, and n̲g̲ are **velars**, made with the middle of the tongue touching or approaching the roof of the mouth. The sound g [x] is not found in English, but n̲g̲ [ŋ] is like that in "han̲g̲".

The consonants q̲ and r̲ are **uvulars**, made with the back of the tongue touching or approaching the uvula (little flap that hangs down from the back of the soft palate). Neither is found in English; r̲ is [x̣].

The voiceless fricatives are all produced by leaving a small gap between the tongue and the place it approaches, and blowing air through this gap so as to produce friction. The result ranges from a fine hissing sound (s̲) to rougher friction sounds.

The fricatives s, g, and r are basically voiceless sounds, but they may be partially voiced after a vowel or voiced consonant and before a single vowel, where for example s sounds more like English z.

The voiceless nasals are made like the voiced nasals, except that they start without voice--that is, with air simply blown through the nose. They are written without the underline following the stops and ll.

The apostrophe is used to distinguish the combination of n plus g from the digraph ng.

Example: ungani 'his own whiskers', un'gani 'out there'

The sound ř ("Russian r"), is not given on the above chart. It is found only in words borrowed from Russian or English, and sounds like Russian or English r.

1.2. Vowels

Shwa

e

Prime vowels

a
i
u

Diphthongs

ai	au
ia	ua
iu	ui

The vowel e is the neutral vowel [ə] or [ɨ]; it sounds roughly like the e in English "ticket". It can be voiceless, in which case it amounts to a puff of breath with the mouth in the neutral position: basically, it has no sound of its own, but marks the fact that there is a syllable. Voiceless e can be indicated by underlining the e, but this is not strictly necessary, since you can learn to predict where e will be voiced or voiceless. In many cases, in fact, e may be pronounced either voiced or voiceless, even by the same speaker. In these lessons, e will be underlined when it is usually or always voiceless.

The vowels a, i, and u can be doubled, but e cannot. The diphthongs ai [aî] and au [aû] sound roughly as in Canadian English "day" and "about". In the remaining diphthongs, the initial i sounds roughly like y and the initial u like w. Hence ia [ya], ua [wa], iu [yu], ui [wi].

1.3. Syllable structure

Each syllable has the form (C)V(V)(C). That is, it consists of one or two vowels, possibly followed by a consonant, and possibly preceded by a consonant (or more than one, at the beginning of the word). The initial consonant of the syllable is called the **onset** and the final consonant, the **coda**. A syllable that has a coda is a **closed** syllable, and one that has no coda is **open**. A syllable that has two vowels is a **heavy** syllable, and one with one vowel is **light**.

How do you determine which consonants and vowels go together into syllables? Where two consonants come together in the middle of a word, the syllable break is between them. Where you find one consonant between vowels, the break is before this consonant: it forms the onset of the syllable. In some cases an onset (usually g or r before a single vowel) in the middle of the word will regularly drop; this is called **fricative dropping**. If this happens between vowels, there is no onset. The syllable is then said to have a **zero onset**, which is represented by an apostrophe. If it happens between a consonant and a vowel, the onset is a lengthening of the preceding consonant. This is called a **geminated consonant**, and is represented by an apostrophe after the consonant. In both cases you can think of the apostrophe as a mark representing the dropped consonant.

However, gemination is not always a result of fricative dropping. It can be lexically assigned (i.e. a given feature of a word or part of a word), it can be the result of the rules for putting the parts of a word together, or it can be the result of a rule called **automatic gemination**. This rule says that if the word begins with the sequence (C)VCVV, the consonant after the single vowel and before the vowel pair is automatically geminated. In this case we do not write an apostrophe after the geminated consonant, because the gemination is predictable.

1. Zero onset. A non-initial syllable without an intial consonant is written with an apostrophe in place of the missing consonant.
Example: narya'aq (naryaʳaq) 'bait'

2. Gemination. A geminated consonant is one which ends one syllable and begins the next; it is written as that consonant followed by an apostrophe.
Example: mal'uk (malʳuk) 'two'

Automatic gemination. If the geminated consonant comes at the end of the first syllable, and the second syllable is heavy, the apostrophe is omitted.
Example: ilua (pronounced il'ua) 'its inside'

1.4. Syllable weight

One of the most important and trickiest tasks facing the learner is distinguishing light and heavy syllables. In some Eskimo languages, this is easy: light syllables are shorter and heavy syllables are longer. In Alutiiq, however, this is not true at all; both light and heavy syllables may be either short or long. There are more subtle clues that allow us to distinguish light and heavy syllables in Alutiiq. A combination of two phonetic clues allows us to distinguish them:

(a) Heavy syllables are **stressed**
(b) The onset of a heavy syllable is **emphasized**.

Note that light syllables may be stressed, but heavy syllables are always stressed. The onset of a light syllable may be emphasized, but not if this syllable is stressed. The reason for this will be explained in the description of KA prosody below. Exactly what is an emphasized consonant? This is hard to describe in words. Basically, an emphasized consonant is pronounced just like at the beginning of a word. When you come to a syllable starting with an emphasized consonant you pronounce it as if you were beginning a new word. There is a slight break in the flow of speech before this consonant, and the consonant is not influenced at all by the sounds before it, as it might otherwise be.

As a rule, light syllables have only one vowel and heavy syllables have two. Since the vowel e cannot be doubled nor pair with other vowels, it does not occur in heavy syllables. A syllable with a single prime vowel (a i u) sounds just like the corresponding syllable with a double vowel (aa ii uu), except that the heavy syllable has both stress and emphasized onset as described above.

In most cases, a syllable with a diphthong is heavy. However, there are a few cases where syllables with the vowel pairs au, ua, ui, and ia are light. These are orthographically distinguished by putting a mark over the u or i: aû, ûa, ûi, and îa. Syllables with these marked diphthongs are light. And in fact, the marked û and î are features modifying the neighboring consonant, and not really separate vowels, even though the light diphthongs sound just like the heavy diphthongs. Thus for example, û occurs only next to g or k (denoting that this consonant is **rounded**), and î next to l or ř (denoting that this consonant is **palatalized**).

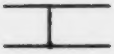
We said before that both light and heavy syllables can be either short or long. The vowel (pair) of an unstressed syllable is always short. There is a rather simple and very basic rule that determines vowel length in stressed syllables: the vowel (pair) of a syllable that is either closed or word-final is short; the vowel (pair) of an open non-final syllable is long. This works for all cases but one: an open syllable with the vowel e̲. This vowel cannot be lengthened; there is no such thing as a long e̲. What happens in a stressed open syllable whose vowel is e̲? The following consonant is geminated, so that the syllable with e̲ becomes closed. Note that this only happens if the e̲ is voiced. Because of rules we will talk about later, stressed open syllables with voiceless e̲ simply do not occur in KA. The **length rule** can be stated as follows:

The length rule: As for the vowel (pair) of a stressed syllable,
(1) if the syllable is closed or word-final, it is **short**.
(2) if the syllable is open and non-final,
    (a) it is **long** unless its vowel is e̲.
    (b) if its vowel is e̲, the syllable is closed with the geminate of the following consonant.

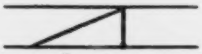
1.5. The prosodic rules

We have said that heavy syllables are always stressed and have an emphasized onset. What about light syllables? In order to describe these phonetic features of light syllables, it is a great help to use a simple set of graphic devices to make plain the prosody of KA. The word **prosody** refers to the way syllables are grouped in the flow of speech, so the prosodic "building block" is the syllable. A group of syllables is called a **foot**. Within a foot, only one syllable may be stressed; this is often called the **strong** syllable, and the other syllable, if any, is called **weak**. Alutiiq has only two types of feet, the **monosyllabic foot**, which consists of a single strong syllable, and the **iambic foot** , which consists of a weak syllable followed by a strong syllable. These can be represented as follows:

Monosyllabic **Iambic**



strong



weak-strong

By knowing how the syllables are grouped into feet, we can predict which syllables are stressed, and which consonants are emphasized. In either type of foot, the strong syllable is stressed, and as such, is subject to the lengthening rule above: if it is open, and its vowel is not e̲, its vowel (pair) is lengthened. Furthermore, there is a very simple rule determining which onsets are emphasized:

The emphasis rule: The first consonant of a foot is emphasized.

That is, the onset of the first syllable of a foot is emphasized. In monosyllabic feet, this is the strong syllable; in iambic feet, the weak syllable.

Two aspects of the Alutiiq prosodic rules are rather unusual. First, there is a special subset of rules, called initial foot definition rules, that determine the first foot in the word; some of these rules do not operate elsewhere in the word. Second, not all syllables end up in feet. Under certain conditions, one or more syllable is skipped. This is without question the most tricky and difficult area of KA prosody.

Following is a list of the prosodic rules for KA:

1. Heavy syllable rule: A heavy syllable is defined as a monosyllabic foot (anywhere in the word).

The remaining rules deal with light syllables.

2. Initial foot definition rules:

a. CVC rule: An initial closed syllable is defined as a monosyllabic foot.

b. CVCe rule: If the word starts with (C)VCeCV, then the e is deleted and the initial closed syllable [(C)VC] is defined as a monosyllabic foot.

> [This rule will also be called the **e-dropping** rule; exceptions to it are noted in 5.4.]

c. CVCVV rule: If the word starts with (C)VCVV, then the the middle consonant is geminated, so that the initial syllable is closed, and defined as a monosyllabic foot.

d. CVCV rule: If the word starts with two light syllables, and neither (a) nor (b) applies, then these two syllables are defined as an iambic foot.

3. Three-syllable rule: Working from left to right, operating on non-initial sequences of three light syllables ($S_1S_2S_3$), where S_3 is not voiceless, define S_2S_3 as an iambic foot if S_2S_3 meets either of the following descriptions:

a. if it is an iambic postbase.

b. if it is part of the final "foot-postponing" section of the word.

> [This rule will be discussed especially in 3.5, 5.3, 7.2, and 9.1.]

4. Two-syllable rule: Define each remaining pair of light syllables (S_1S_2) as an iambic foot, except where S_2 is voiceless.

Vocabulary for Unit 1

Quyanaa. Thank you.
Quyanaituq. You're welcome.
    (Literally, "It's nothing to be thankful for.")
Canaituq. It doesn't matter. It's all right (no problem).
Cama'i. Hi. Hello.
Ai? Huh? What (did you say)?
Awa ai? Awa-qaa (ai)? Is that it (now)? Is that all (now)?
Kita ai? Kita-qaa (ai)? Shall we?
    Both these may roughly correspond to English "Good-bye," except that they ask for a consensus. They are actually more like English "Well (how about it)?" The answer is "Aa'a."
Aa'a. Yes.
Qang'a. No.
Allrak. All'ak. Maybe. Perhaps.
Ca. I don't know.
Qayu-mi pit? How are you?
Asirtua(nga). I'm fine.
Qenagua(nga). I'm sick.
Sakaartua(nga). I'm tired.
Qawarnigua(nga). I'm sleepy.
Maqartuq ai? It's hot, huh?
Pate̲sn̲artuq ai? It's cold, huh?
Ling'anaa. I'm sorry. Pardon me.
Ata. Let's see. Let me see.
Kana. Here (take it).
Kita. Go ahead. Come on (do it; let's do it).
Kita am! Go ahead! Come on!
Cali. (Have) some more. (Do it) again.
Angli. (Have) lots. (Do it) lots.
Cangcugmek. (Have) a little (bit).
Tawa. That's enough.
Tawa am! That's enough!

Angu! Don't!
Ii! Ick! Yecch!
Ayaa! Ouch!
Na-aa'i! My (goodness)! Oh my!

UNIT 2

2.1. Number

In English, we distinguish grammatically between two **numbers**: **singular** and **plural**. Singular refers to one, and plural to more than one. The number distinction is easiest to see in nouns, e.g. "boy" versus "boys". We also have the number distinction in pronouns, e.g. "they" is the plural of "he/she/it", "we" is the plural of "I", and "these" and "those" are the plurals of "this" and "that".

Alutiiq distinguishes three numbers: singular, plural, and **dual**. The dual refers to two, and the plural to more than two. In this lesson we will deal with number of nouns and pronouns, and of the third person non-past indicative of verbs. A general rule that will be very useful at this point is that, in all these forms, the plural ends in -t and the dual in -k. Furthermore, once the plural is known, the dual can be formed simply by replacing the -t of the plural with the -k of the dual. The forms are in all other respects identical. For now, then, we will illustrate only the singular and the plural; you can form the dual by replacing the plural ending -t with -k.

2.2. Number in the third person of verbs

The third person singular of the non-past indicative always ends in -(t)uq. The third person plural is formed with -t in place of -q (and of course, the dual with -k).

Example: Asirtuq. He/she/it is good.
Asirtut. They (more than two) are good.
(Asirtuk. The two of them are good.)

In English, all verbs must have overt subjects. If there is no noun phrase as subject, we must use a pronoun or the word "there." In Alutiiq, this is not necessary or even usual. Therefore, if the verb has no subject in

Alutiiq, we must supply a personal pronoun to translate it in English:

Third person singular: "he/she/it"
Third person plural: "they"

Note that Alutiiq makes no grammatical distinction between animate and inanimate, human and non-human, masculine and feminine. The form asirtuq could refer to a good thing, a good animal, a good woman, or a good man.

Note: The verbs in this lesson are all of the type called descriptive verbs. These almost always translate into English as a form of the verb "to be" plus an adjective. You must be careful not to think of them as equivalent to English adjectives. For example, asirtuq means "**is** good", not just "good". Later we will introduce the participial forms of these descriptive verbs. These participial forms, like English adjectives, can be used to modify nouns.

2.3. Number of nouns

Given the singular form of a noun, it is usually, but not always, possible to correctly predict the plural form. At this point it will be useful to introduce the notion of a **stem**. The stem is the abstract "underlying" form, from which all forms of the word are derived. Stems are cited with a hyphen following them; the hyphen indicates that the stem is not a complete word. Stems can end only with a vowel, g, or r. The following statements will help you predict what the stem of a noun is:

1. If the singular ends in q, the stem ends in r-.
2. If the singular ends in k, the stem ends in g-.
3. If the singular ends in n, the stem ends in te-.
4. If the singular ends in a, the stem usually ends in e-, but sometimes ends in a-.

Looking at it the other way around, we can say that the singular of a noun is formed directly from the stem, without the addition of a suffix. There is, however, a **well-formedness condition** that applies to the last sound in a word:

Well-formedness condition on word-final phonemes: Words can end only in a prime vowel (a i u) or certain stops (t k q) or voiced nasals (m n ng).

Stems, on the other hand, can end in any vowel, including e, as well as g or r. We can say, then, that stem-final g- and r- **change** to k and q, respectively, at the end of a word, because they are not allowed there by the well-formedness condition. Similarly, stem-final e- changes to a at the end of a word, with one exception: stem-final te- following a vowel changes to n.

Let us now look at how the plural is formed. If we start from the stem, we can say that the plural is formed by suffixing +(e)t; that is, either t or et is added to the stem. However, there are some rather complicated rules we must apply to get the final result. For a description of these rules, you may refer to the Appendix on Joining Types, section 5a. For now, however, we will give some useful generalizations that will cover most cases:

1. If the **noun stem** ends in a vowel, add -t to the stem.

2. If the **noun** ends in q or k:

    a. If the noun ends in a prime vowel plus q, omit the q and add -t.

    b. Change final ak and ik to iit; change uk to uut. (Many speakers may simply omit the k and add -t, as with nouns ending with q; most speakers in fact do this with nouns ending in ak.)

    c. Change eq to ret and ek to get.

Exceptions to these generalizations will be noted in the vocabularies. Some examples:

Singular	Plural
piugta 'dog'	piugtet
angun 'old man'	angutet
qayaq 'baidarka'	qayat
iqsak 'hook'	iqsiit (or iqsat)
iqalluk 'fish'	iqalluut (or iqallut)
maqineq 'week'	maqinret
nutek 'gun'	nutget

Note that Alutiiq has no **articles**, words corresponding to English "the", "a/an". These may usually be simply omitted in translating to Alutiiq.

2.4. Number of pronouns

Most pronouns have a different stem for the plural (and dual) than for the singular. Where the stem is different, it is formed by adding the suffix +ku- to the basic stem. Demonstrative pronouns also add a suffix +na to form the singular. Examples:

Singular	Plural
caqiq? 'what?'	caqit?
kinaq? 'who'	kinkut?
una 'this'	ukut
taugna 'that'	taugkut

English does not have special plurals for "what" and "who". The Alutiiq plurals are used when you know there are more than two, but you don't know their identity.

Note: You cannot use caqiq to translate English "what" when it modifies a noun. For example, to translate English "what guns?" you would instead use an expression meaning "which guns?" (nutget naliit?).

2.5. Noun phrases

In Alutiiq, the term **noun phrase** can be defined as a group of nominals that refer to the same entity and have the same function in the sentence. They must agree in number and case. **Nominals** are nouns and pronouns, as well as nominalized sentences (which we will take up later). In English, noun phrases may also include articles, adjectives, and prepositional phrases. But Alutiiq has no articles and no adjectives. What correspond to the English adjectives and prepositional phrases are nominals in Alutiiq. Demonstrative pronouns and nouns, in either order, may form noun phrases in Alutiiq.

una piugta or piugta una. this dog.
ukut piugtet or piugtet ukut. these dogs.

2.6. Sentences with verbs

In Alutiiq sentences, as mentioned above, an overt subject is not required. The verb itself may form a complete sentence. If there is an overt subject, the verb must take a third person ending that **agrees in number** with the subject; that is, if the subject is singular, the verb ending is third person singular, and if the subject is plural, the verb ending is third person plural:

Arnaq miktuq. The woman is small.
Arnat miktut. The women are small.

In these sentences, the verb is the **predicate**; that is, it makes some statement ("predicates something") about the subject.

2.7. Sentences without verbs

In English, a sentence is not grammatical unless it has a verb. This is not true in Alutiiq. There are two types of sentences that can lack verbs.

First, certain words (including some interjections) can function as predicates:

Ata nuusiq. Let's see the knife. (Hand me the knife.)
Naama nuusiq. Where is the knife?
Gua'i nuusiq. Here is the knife.

The second type of sentence without a verb is called an **equational sentence**. This consists of two noun phrases that agree in number: one (often the first) is the subject, and the other one the predicate. These sentences translate in English with a form of the verb "to be" (is, are, am) between the two nouns:

Kinaq-mi una? Who is this?
Kinkut-mi ukut? Who are these?
Una Iwanaq. This is John. (Also: Iwanaq una.)
Taugkut piugtet. Those are dogs.

2.8. Interrogative words

There are two types of questions: **interrogative-word questions** and **yes/no questions**. Interrogative-word questions are formed with an interrogative word like kinaq? 'who?' or caqiq? 'what?'.

Kinaq taugna? Who is that?

The above question sounds a bit bare. It often sounds better to add a final element, called an **enclitic**, to the interrogative word. Enclitics are written with a hyphen separating them from the main word; they are like little words that cannot stand by themselves, but must follow some other word. The enclitics that can occur with interrogative words are

-mi '--, I wonder?' (very mild, often omissible in English)
-llu '-- could it be?' (stronger than -mi)
-tanem '-- on earth?; -- in the world?; -- the hell?'

(stronger than -llu)

Kinaq-mi taugna? Who is that (I wonder)?
Kinaq-llu taugna? Who could that be? (indicates puzzlement)
Kinaq-tanem taugna? Who on earth is that? Who the hell is that?
(indicates strong puzzlement or irritation)

The enclitic -mi is also used after a noun with the meaning 'how about N?; what about N?':

John-mi? How about John? What about John?

2.9. Yes/no questions

Any sentence may be converted into a yes/no question either (a) by adding the enclitic -qaa, preferably to the first word in the sentence, or (b) by pronouncing the sentence with yes/no-question intonation (i.e. rising intonation, much as in English) and without adding -qaa:

Una asirtuq. This one is good.
Una-qaa asirtuq? Is this one good?
Una asirtuq? Is this one good?

The initial consonant of -qaa is geminated after a stressed vowel. Thus una-qaa sounds like unaq'aa.

A quasi-question can also be formed by putting ai? 'huh?' after the sentence. Sometimes qa? (which as a separate word means something like "Is that so?") is also put after the sentence in this same way.

Una asirtuq ai? This one is good, huh? This one is good, isn't it?
Una asirtuq qa? This one is good, am I right? Is this one good?

Note: Do not use sentence-final qa? to translate questions in the exercises. It is not very common, and you need to get used to the usual construction.

The word allrak 'perhaps, maybe' usually comes at the end of the sentence too.

Una asirtuq allrak. Maybe this one is good.

2.10. The demonstrative predicates with -'i

Demonstrative predicates like gua'i and tawa'i loose their final -'i before enclitics, appearing instead as gûa- and tawa-:

Gûa-qaa qayaq? Is this a kayak here?
Tawa-qaa arnak? Are those the 2 women there?

2.11. The postbase -nguaq

Alutiiq has many suffixes that can be used to form new words; these are called **postbases**. The first we will learn is

-nguaq (N\N) 'small N, little N'

This postbase is added to the stem **minus the final consonant**, if any; this fact is indicated by the minus sign (-) preceding the postbase. The notation (N\N) indicates that the postbase is added to a noun (N), and the resulting word is a noun (N). Examples:

piugta. dog. (stem: piugte-)
    piugtenguaq. small dog, little dog
arnaq. woman.
    arnanguaq. small woman, little woman.
iqalluk. fish.
    iqallunguaq. small fish, little fish.

You can even say

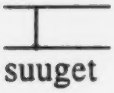
Kinanguaq una? Who is this little person?

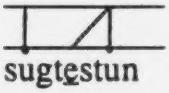
Sometimes derivatives with -nguaq have a special meaning:

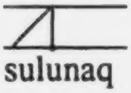
qayaq. baidarka (kayak).
qayanguaq. one-holed baidarka (kayak).

2.12. Initial syllable weight

Two of the prosodic rules give rise to monosyllabic feet, the Heavy syllable rule (1) and the Initial foot definition rules (2). A monosyllabic foot may be either a heavy syllable (anywhere in the word) or an light closed syllable at the beginning of the word. The logical result of this situation is that the contrast between initial closed light syllables and initial closed heavy syllables is phonetically **neutralized**; that is, there is no way the contrast can be phonetically detected, so these two must be treated as phonetically the same. Why is this? Consider the word suk 'person', stem suug-. In a form where the first syllable is open, like suuget, we can tell that it is heavy because it forms a monosyllabic foot and the vowel pair is phonetically lengthened, whereas in a word like sulunaq 'salted fish', the light first syllable forms an iambic foot with the second syllable, and it is the second syllable that is lengthened. So there is a contrast between initial suu and su. But if the first syllable is closed, whether it is underlyingly heavy or light, there is no contrast: in either case this syllable forms a monosyllabic foot whose vowel is short. Compare suuget 'people', sugtestun 'like people, in Alutiiq', and sulunaq.







As you can see from the forms suk and sugtestun, our orthographic solution to this problem is to write initial closed syllables as if they were light, whether they are underlyingly heavy or light, because light and heavy cannot be phonetically distinguished in this case. This is the reason for writing these words with a single vowel, even though the stem has two vowels.

2.13. Irregular length

The length rule, although it seems to be true for all native Alutiiq vocabulary, has exceptions among words borrowed from Russian. There are some Russian loans where closed syllables are long, rather than short according to the length rule. This irregular length is indicated in one of two ways:

1. An irregularly long initial syllable is written as if it were heavy. Example: luuskaaq 'spoon'.

2. Elsewhere in the word, an irregularly long syllable is written with an accent over the first vowel. Examples: lamátkaaq 'tee-shirt'; kapúustaaq 'cabbage'.

Vocabulary for Unit 2

Predicates

Naama? Where is (it)? Where are (they)?
Gua'i. Here. (stem: gûa-)
Tawa'i. There. (stem: tawa-)
Asirtuq. He/she/it is good, nice, fine, okay.
Asiituq. He/she/it is bad, no good.
Ang'uq. He/she/it is big, large, grown up, an adult.
Miktuq. He/she/it is small, little, a child.
Amlertut. They are many. There are lots of them.

Nouns

alagnaq. salmonberry, berry.
angun. old man. (stem: angute-)
  angutet. old men.
arnaq. woman.
arya'aq. girl, young woman. (stem: arya^{g}ar-)
  aryagaat. girls.
cuawak. high-bush blueberry.
  cuawiit. high-bush blueberries.
iqalluk. fish (sg.).
  iqalluut. fish (pl.).
kaiwiq. old woman.
kalikaq. piece of paper.
  kalikat. paper (pieces, pad, etc.), book.
kaařaq. car.
luuskaaq. spoon.
neqa. food. (stem: neqe-)
  neqet. foods.
nuusiq. knife.
nukallpiaq. man.

piugta. dog. (stem: piugte-)
    piugtet. dogs.
suk. person. (stem: suug-)
    suuget or suu'ut. people.
tan'uraq. boy, young man. (stem: tan'urar-)
    tan'uraat. boys.
taangaq. water.

Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns

caqiq? what? (also caqiiq? or caqii?). caqiq. something, thing.
    caqit? or caqiit? what (pl.)? caqit. things.
kina? who? (non-singular stem: kinku-). kina. someone.
    kinkut? who (pl.)? kinkut. some people.

taugna. that (one). (non-singular stem: taugku-)
    taugkut. those.
una. this (one). (non-singular stem: uku-)
    ukut. these.

UNIT 3

3.1. Personal Pronouns

So far we have dealt only with third person forms. Alutiiq, like English (and in fact all languages), has three persons: **first, second,** and **third** person. First person refers to the speaker (and those included with him), and second person refers to the person spoken to (and those included with him). Third person is anyone else.

First person
 singular: gui 'I, me'
 plural: guangkuta 'we, us'
 dual: guangkunuk 'we 2, us 2'

Second person
 singular: ellpet 'you'
 plural: ellpe̱ci 'you guys'
 dual: ellpe̱tek 'you 2'

Third person
 singular: elliin 'he/she/it, him/her/it'
 plural: ellaita 'they'
 dual: ellaigta 'they 2'

The third person pronouns are used in Alutiiq to focus on someone or something that is already under discussion, not to introduce a new topic of discussion. Equational sentences are used to introduce new topics; therefore, demonstratives are used instead of third person pronouns in equational sentences.

Kina-mi taugna? Who is that? Who is he/she?
 (rather than: Kina-mi elliin?
Kina-mi ellpet? Who are you?

The first and second person pronouns are obviously necessary in equational sentences, since there is no verb. In sentences with a verb, however, the person and number of the subject is indicated on the verb, so the personal pronouns are not necessary. They are used only when focusing on the subject: typically, that is, to contrast the subject with someone or something else.

A: Qayu-mi pit? How are you?
B: Asirtuanga. Ellpet-mi? I'm fine. How about you?
A: Gui qenagua. Me, I'm sick.

3.2. Intransitive non-past indicative verb endings

The intransitive non-past indicative verb endings can be illustrated with forms of asirtuq 'it is good':

1.sg.	asirtua(nga) 'I am good'	+(t)**ua(nga)**
1.pl.	asirtukut 'we are good'	+(t)**ukut**
1.du.	asirtukuk 'we 2 are good'	+(t)**ukuk**
2.sg.	asirtuten 'you are good'	+(t)**uten**
2.pl.	asirtuci 'you guys are good'	+(t)**uci**
2.du.	asirtutek 'you 2 are good'	+(t)**utek**
3.sg.	asirtuq 'he/she/it is good'	+(t)**uq**
3.pl.	asirtut 'they are good'	+(t)**ut**
3.du.	asirtuk 'they 2 are good'	+(t)**uk**

The stem of this verb is asir-. To this are added the endings shown on the right. These endings all begin with the **intransitive non-past indicative marker** +(t)u-, which may be called the **base** of these endings; following this is the person-number marker, shown in bold face.

What do these terms mean? **Intransitive** means that the verb has no direct object. **Non-past indicative** means that the verb indicates an action, event, or state occurring at or just before the present moment. Thus for example, the following sentence may be said a very short time after walking in the door:

Taigua. I am coming. I came (just now).

Like noun stems, verb stems can end with a vowel (pair) or a consonant (g or r). When adding the intransitive non-past indicative marker +(t)u- to the verb stem, the consonant in parentheses (t) appears only where the stem ends in a consonant (g or r). After a vowel, in most cases, the marker is +u-. Furthermore, if the stem ends in e, this e is dropped before this +u-, and if the stem has the form (C)VCe-, the consonant before the e is geminated before the +u-:

Stem	3.sg. intr. pres. indic.
pitur-	pitur**tuq** 'he/she/it is drinking'
akag-	akag**tuq** 'he/she/it is rolling'
qawarni-	qawarni**uq** 'he/she/it is sleepy'
iqllu-	iqllu**uq** 'he/she is lying (telling a lie)'
inarte-	inar**tuq** 'he/she/it lay down (just now)'
tekite-	teki**tuq** 'he/she/it arrived (just now)'
aqume-	aqu**muq** 'he/she/it sat down (just now)'
nere-	ner**'uq** 'he/she/it is eating'
age-	ag**'uq** 'he/she/it is going, went (just now)'

If the stem ends in a vowel pair, the marker appears as $+^{g}$u-, that is, it begins with a g, but this g drops in a light syllable according to the fricative dropping rule (see below), leaving zero onset in place of the g. This variant of the marker may also occur after a single prime vowel that is prosodically strong in this environment (that is, where it is the vowel of the second syllable of an iambic foot):

tai-	tai'**uq** 'he/she/it is coming, came (just now)'
iqu-	iqu'**uq** or iqu**uq** 'he/she/it fell over (just now)'

Fricative dropping never operates when the fricative precedes a vowel pair, because a heavy syllable cannot begin with zero onset. Therefore in the 1.sg. forms, the combination of +^{g}u- plus the 1.sg. marker is +gua(nga). This ending may also occur after single prime vowels that are not in strong syllables. However, after single prime vowels, there is an older alternative 1.sg. ending +unga (which seems to be gradually going out of use):

tai-	tai**gua(nga)** 'I am coming, came (just now)'
iqu-	iqu**gua(nga)** or iqu**unga** 'I fell over (just now)'
qawarni-	qawarni**gua(nga)** or qawarni**unga** 'I am sleepy'
iqllu-	iqllu**gua(nga)** or iqllu**unga** 'I am lying'

Note: In the vocabularies, from now on verbs will be given in the 3.sg. intrans. pres, indic. with the stem in bold. If the part in bold type ends in any consonant other than g or r, or if it ends in g' or r', then the stem ends in the consonant plus e. Thus the stem of **kawirtuq** is kawir-, but the stem of **inartuq** is inarte- and the stem of **ner'uq** is nere-. Furthermore, the English gloss will be given without a pronoun subject ("he/she/it" or "they"). If the verb naturally refers to a continued activity or state, it will be translated as an English present progressive, but if it refers to an instantaneous event or activity, it will be translated as an English past, which, it is understood, refers to the immediate past (i.e., "just now").

3.3. Fricative dropping

We have now seen a number of stems and suffixes containing superscript ^{g} and ^{r}. These represent g and r which drop in light syllables, leaving zero onset (after a vowel) or gemination (after a consonant); both are represented by an apostrophe, which you may think of as indicating the fact that the consonant has dropped. In Kodiak KA, g̲ and r̲ frequently drop after a vowel, but only sporadically drop after a consonant. The rule for fricative dropping after a vowel can be stated as follows:

Fricative dropping rule: After a prime vowel and before a single vowel, the fricatives g̲ and r̲ drop except in the following cases:

(a) in an initial iambic foot, e.g. Ag̲ayun 'God'

(b) where the g̲ or r̲ was originally voiceless (i.e. where it is written g̲g̲ or r̲r̲ in the rest of Alutiiq and in Central Alaskan Yup'ik), e.g. tan'ur̲aq 'boy' (elsewhere tan'ur̲r̲aq).

It is very important to note that fricative dropping **never** occurs in a heavy syllable, only in light syllables. As a rule of thumb:

Orthographic rule for superscript ^{g} and ^{r}: Superscript $^{\underline{g}}$ and $^{\underline{r}}$ are replaced by apostrophe in a light syllable, but show up as g̲ and r̲ in a heavy syllable.

We have seen a couple places where these may occur: in the suffix +^{g}u- and in the last syllable of a noun stem. They may also occur in the last syllable of a verb stem.

Stem	In a light syllable	In a heavy syllable
tai+^{g}u-	tai'uq 'she's coming'	taigua 'I'm coming'
arya^{g}ar-	arya'aq 'girl'	aryagaat 'girls'
litnau^{r}i-	litnau'igua 'I'm teaching'	litnauriuq 'she's teaching'

With verb stems ending in $^{\underline{g}}$ or $^{\underline{r}}$ plus a vowel, the fricative drops before the 1.sg. ending +g̲ua(nga) but not before the other intr. pres. indic. endings, including the alternative 1.sg. ending +unga. Thus 'I'm teaching' can be either litnau'igua(nga) or litnauriunga.

Fricative dropping may also occur where a suffix beginning with a single vowel is added to a stem ending in a prime vowel plus g̱ or ṟ. The only example we have so far is suuget or suu'ut 'people'. In this case, fricative dropping is optional. Also, if the vowel following the dropped fricative is e̱, this e̱ is replaced by a copy of the preceding vowel.

3.4. Modifying postbases

The postbase -nguaq is one of a number of N\N postbases that modify the meaning of a noun, usually in a predictable way. These postbases usually translate as adjectives in English.

-nguaq (N\N) 'little N, small N'
-ngcuk (N\N) 'little N, small N; little bit of N'
-sinaq (N\N) 'big N, large N'
-ngiaʳaq (N\N) 'nice N, wonderful N, neat N'
    (plural: -ngiaraat)
-lle̱raq (N\N) 'bad N, awful N, worthless N'
    (plural: -lle̱raat or -lle̱rat)
+(r)pakaq (N\N) 'much N, so much N, too much N'
    (plural: +(r)pakat 'many Ns, so many Ns, too many Ns')

Note that all but the last are of the **minus type**; that is, stem-final consonants are dropped before them.

tuuřaq. dory, skiff.
    tuuřanguaq, tuuřangcuk. small dory, little dory.
    tuuřasinaq. big dory, large dory.
    tuuřangia'aq. nice dory, wonderful dory, neat dory.
    tuuřalle̱raq. bad dory, awful dory, worthless dory.

The postbase +(r)pakaq is of the **plus type**; that is, stem-final g̱ and ṟ are not dropped before it. The ṟ in parentheses is added after stems ending in a vowel.

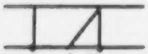
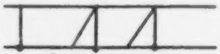
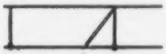
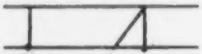
taangaq. water.
  taangarpakaq. much water, so much water, too much water.
  (compare taangangcuk. a little bit of water.)
suk. person.
  sugpakat. many people, so many people, too many people.
piugta. dog.
  piugterpakat. many dogs, so many dogs, too many dogs.

Note that prosodic rule (2b) applies in the following cases:

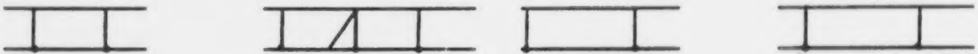
neqa. food.
  neqe-sinaq > neqsinaq. big food.
  neqe-lle̲raq > neqlle̲raq. rotten food.

3.5. Iambic postbases

Three of the modifying postbases introduced so far each have two light syllables: -sinaq, -lleraq, and +(r)pakaq. These are called **iambic postbases**. Iambic postbases have a very interesting prosodic property: wherever they consist of two light syllables, they form an iambic foot. Compare, for example:

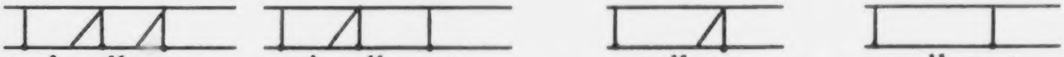
			
suusinaq	tan'urasinaq	arnasinaq	piugte̲sinaq
'big person'	'big lad'	'big woman'	'big dog'

In the first two words, the two-syllable rule (4) applies to -sinaq, so that all the syllables belong to feet. In the second two words, however, the three-syllable rule (3a) applies instead, so that -sinaq forms an iambic foot and the preceding syllable is **stray**; that is, it does not belong to a foot. Note that the prosodic results with the postbase -nguaq are the same except that this postbase forms a monosyllabic foot rather than an iambic foot:



suunguaq	tan’uranguaq	arnanguaq	piugtenguaq
’small person’	’small boy’	’small woman’	’small dog’

Note the awkward wording above: iambic postbases, wherever they consist of two light syllables, form an iambic foot. If the postbase combines with what precedes or follows in such a way that one of the syllables ends up heavy, then the postbase cannot form an iambic foot. Compare:



tan’uralle̲raq	tan’uralle̲raat	arnalle̲raq	arnalle̲raat
’awful lad’	’awful lads’	’awful woman’	’awful women’

Note that the two-syllable rule does not apply in the last word, because the syllable lle̲ is voiceless.

3.6. Joining types

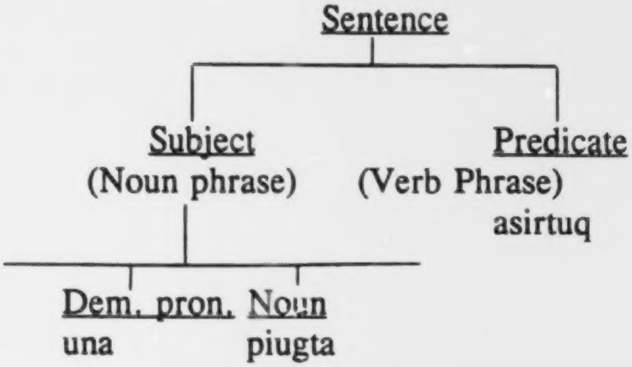
Suffixes (endings and postbases) can be divided into two main groups, depending on how they join with the stem they are added to. With the **minus** type (symbolized by the minus sign -), suffixes are added to the stem minus the final consonant (g̲ or r̲). With the **plus** type (symbolized by the plus sign +), suffixes are added to the whole stem, including the final consonant, if any. With many plus-type suffixes--especially those added to nouns stems--an extra consonant is inserted after a stem ending in a vowel; this is symbolized by putting the extra consonant in parentheses, e.g. in +(r)pakaq and +(t)u-.

3.7. Free word order

Alutiiq is one of a large number of languages that is said to have **free word order**, which basically means that words in a sentence can be arranged in practically any order. As we will see, however, there are limits to this freedom. Typically, free-word-order languages have a system for encoding information in each word that makes clear, in most cases, what the relationship between words is, so that it is not necessary to have the words in a particular order in order to understand what they mean. In particular, many of these languages, like Alutiiq, have a system of **cases** (we will discuss these later), and they have person-number markers and require agreement in person and number.

To understand this, let us take an analytic look at **syntax**, or how words are put together in a sentence. A sentence can be broken down into natural units called **constituents**, these can in turn often be broken into smaller constituents, and so on. The sentences we have been working with so far may have two constituents, the **subject**--which is a noun phrase--and the **predicate**--which could be a verb or another noun phrase or a non-verbal predicate. The **head**--or key constituent--of a sentence is the predicate. A sentence must have a predicate, but it may not have an overt noun phrase as subject. A noun phrase, in turn, may have two constituents, for example a demonstrative pronoun and a noun; the head of the noun phrase is the noun.

Now in Alutiiq (as in most free-word-order languages), the **unmarked** word order is head-final. That is, in the most neutral way of saying the sentence, the heads come last: the predicate is last in the sentence, and the noun comes after the demonstrative pronoun. But the order within any or all constituents may be reversed: the head may come first instead of last. You can think of it this way: each constituent is a little mobile, that can swing around so that the head can be first or last. On either end of this mobile may hang another mobile (i.e. another constituent within the larger constituent), and so on. Thus from the following structure we can get four different sentences:


Sentence
Subject
(Noun phrase)
Predicate
(Verb Phrase)
asirtuq
Dem. pron.
una
Noun
piugta

(1) Una piugta asirtuq.
(2) Piugta una asirtuq.
(3) Asirtuq una piugta.
(4) Asirtuq piugta una.

All these sentences translate "This dog is good." But there are, perhaps, subtle differences in **focus**, which means emphasis or spotlighting of attention. The unmarked order (1) is neutral; the focus is ordinarily on the subject. If the subject comes last, as in (3) and (4), it is less in focus. If the demonstrative pronoun comes after the noun, there is less emphasis on the demonstrative and more on the noun. In general, then, whichever constituent comes last is less in focus.

Vocabulary for Unit 3

Verbs

ag'uq. is going, leaving; went, left.
caliuq, **cali**'uq. is doing what? is doing something.
Cali'it? What are you doing?
Calite̲si? What are you guys doing?
Calite̲stek? What are you 2 doing?
cungagtuq. is blue or green.
et'uq. is there, is home.
kawirtuq. is red.
litnauriuq. is teaching (stem: litnau^{r}i-)
maqiuq. **maqi**'uq. is taking a banya.
ner'uq. is eating.
pektuq. is working.
piturtuq. is drinking.
qatertuq. is white.
qawartuq. is sleeping.
tai'uq. is coming; came.
[Note: this is not always used where we use "come" in English. It refers only to coming to where the speaker is.]
Tai! Come!
tamlegtuq. is black.
te̲kituq. arrived, made it there.
waamuq. is playing.

Nouns

engluq. house.
kas'aq. priest.
skuuluq. school.
tuuřaq. dory, skiff.
uciitilaq or uciitilîaq. teacher.

Other words

cali. again. also, too.
    Cali ner'uq. Ner'uq cali. He's eating again.
    Gui cali. Me too.

UNIT 4

4.1. The ablative case

Nouns and pronouns together form a natural class we call **nominals**. All nominals are **inflected** for number and case; that is, there exist forms--usually different forms--for each combination of number and case. We have already seen that one or more nominal can group together to form a noun phrase. All nominals in a noun phrase must agree with each other in number and case.

We have seen that Alutiiq has three numbers: singular, plural, and dual. Alutiiq also has seven **cases**: absolutive, relative, locative, allative, ablative, perlative, and similaris. Broadly speaking, the case of a nominal indicates its relationship to the verb or to another nominal. The nominal forms we have introduced so far are all in the **absolutive** case. This is the plain or **unmarked** case; it is used simply to name something--that is, to utter the name of something for the purpose of identifying it. The the absolutive case is also used for the subject of an intransitive sentence or the object of a transitive sentence.

We will now introduce another case, the **ablative** case. This case has two main functions. With verbs of motion, it indicates from where a motion originates, and thus translates "from N", "out of N", or "off of N":

Sun'amek taigua. I am coming **from Kodiak**.
Skuulumek an'uk. They 2 went out **of the school**.

With verbs of event or action, the ablative case indicates the **oblique object** of the verb. This is a grammatical relationship that has no exact parallel in English. Typically, however, the oblique object corresponds to an **indefinite** object in English, that is, a direct object without a word that marks it as definite, such as the definite article "the". In Alutiiq, the oblique object is not the direct object of the verb, since in most cases the verb is intransitive, and intransitive verbs do not have direct objects. For the most part in Alutiiq, if the logical object of the verb is definite, it is realized as the direct object of a transitive verb; but if indefinite, as the oblique object of an intransitive verb. Compare the following sentences, where the oblique object is in the ablative case (and ends in +mek or +nek):

Intransitive with oblique object: **Piugtemek** tangertua. I see **a dog**.
Transitive with direct object: **Piugta** tangraqa. I see **the dog**.

Intransitive with oblique object: **Piugtenek** tangertua. I see **dogs**.
Transitive with direct object: **Piugtet** tangranka. I see **the dogs**.

(As you can see, the form of the transitive verb depends on the person and number not only of the subject, but also of the object. We will introduce the transitive verb endings later.)

Note that the Alutiiq oblique object, in the singular, is usually translated in English with the indefinite article "a" or "an"; in the plural, or with mass nouns (like "food," "salt," "water") there is no article in the English translation. The word "some" may also be used in the English translation.

Palegmek ikuutua. I found **a piece of smoked fish**.
Palegnek ikuutua. I found **(some) smoked fish**.
Taangamek ikuutua. I found **(some) water**.

Iqallugmek nerua. I'm eating **a fish**.
    I'm eating **(some) fish**. [i.e. part of a single fish]
Iqallugnek nerua. I'm eating **(some) fish**. [i.e. several fish]

The ablative case is formed with the suffixes +mek (in the plain singular form) and +nek (in all other forms). The singular and plural ablative are formed by adding +mek and +nek, respectively, to the noun stem, omitting the final consonant where this is also omitted in the absolutive plural. From this point on, we will use the name **weak q** for the final q which is omitted in these forms; if the noun has an irregular plural where the final vowel is doubled before the plural suffix, we will say it ends in **strong q**. From now on, nouns with strong q will be listed in the vocabularies with an asterisk (*) after this q. Those we have introduced so far are arya^{g}aq* 'girl' and tan'uraq* 'boy'.

There is one further pecularity: if the noun ends in a single consonant plus e, the e is dropped before the suffix. The rules for adding the suffixes +mek and +nek may be stated as follows:

1. If the noun stem ends in a vowel:

Add the suffix to the stem. If the noun stem ends in a single consonant plus e, drop this e before the suffix.

2. If the noun ends in q or k:

a. If the noun ends in a prime vowel plus **weak q**, omit the q and add the suffix.

(Some speakers may also omit final k in nouns ending in a single prime vowel plus k.)

b. Otherwise, add the suffix to the noun stem.

Recall that if the noun ends in k, the stem ends in g, and if the noun ends in q, the stem ends in r. Compare the following singular and plural forms:

Abs. sg.	**Abs. pl.**	**Abl. sg.**	**Abl. pl.**
nuna 'land'	nuna**t**	nuna**mek**	nuna**nek**
piugta 'dog'	piugt**et**	piugte**mek**	piugte**nek**
neqa 'food'	neq**et**	neq**mek**	neq**nek**
angun 'old man'	angut**et**	angut**mek**	angut**nek**
arnaq 'woman'	arna**t**	arna**mek**	arna**nek**
arya'aq 'girl'	aryagaa**t**	arya'ar**mek**	arya'ar**nek**
iqalluk 'fish'	iqalluu**t**	iqallug**mek**	iqallug**nek**
(for some also:	iqallu**t**	iqallu**mek**	iqallu**nek**)
maqineq 'week'	maqinr**et**	maqiner**mek**	maqiner**nek**
nutek 'rifle'	nutg**et**	nuteg**mek**	nuteg**nek**

Note the underline in piugtemek and piugtenek. This indicates that both the e and the following nasal are voiceless. We will discuss this in a later section.

The ablative dual can most simply be described by saying that it is formed from the absolutive dual: change the final k of the absolutive dual to g and add +nek:

Abs. du.	**Abl. du.**
piugte**k** '2 dogs'	piugte**gnek**
angute**k** '2 old men'	angute**gnek**
arna**k** '2 women'	arna**gnek**
aryagaa**k** '2 girls'	aryagaa**gnek**
iqalluu**k** '2 fish'	iqalluu**gnek**
maqinre**k** '2 weeks'	maqinre**gnek**

The ablative forms of the interrogative pronouns are as follows:

	Abl. sg.	**Abl. pl.**	**Abl. du.**
caqiq 'what?'	caqi**mek**	caqi**nek**	caqig**nek**
kinaq 'who?'	kitu**mek**	kinku**nek**	kinkug**nek**

Demonstrative pronouns are definite by nature, so oblique object noun phrases containing demonstratives hardly ever occur. Proper nouns (names of persons and places) are also definite by nature, and are not used as oblique objects.

Members of a noun phrase must agree in case as well as number. All nominals in a noun phrase that functions as an oblique object must be in the ablative case.

4.2. Numerals

	Abs.	**Abl.**
1	allriluq	allrilu**mek** [also all'iluq, all'ilumek]
2	mal'**uk**	mal'ug**nek**
3	pingayu**n**	pingayu**nek**
4	staama**n**	staama**nek**
5	tallima**n**	tallima**nek**
6	arwilg**en**	arwileg**nek**
7	mallruungi**n**	mallruungi**nek**
8	inglulg**en**	inglulegn**ek**
9	qulnguya**n**	qulnguya**nek**
10	qule**n**	qul**nek**
	qaugci**n**	qaugci**nek** 'how many?'

Of the numbers, allriluq is singular, mal'uk is dual, and the rest are plural. Note that the absolutive plural of numerals ends in n rather than t. As you can see by the ablative forms, the stems for arwilgen and inglulgen both end in -leg-.

The numerals are nominals, and may be used by themselves or together with other nominals in noun phrases:

Mal'uk pektuk. **Two** are working.
Mal'uk kaiwik pektuk. **Two old women** are working.
Ukuk mal'uk kaiwik pektuk. **These two old women** are working.

Mal'ugnek tangertua. I see **two**.
Mal'ugnek kaiwignek tangertua. I see **two old women**.

Noun phrases can thus be composed of more than two nominals. In a noun phrase, one of the nominals is called the **head**, and the others are said to be **modifiers** or **adjuncts**. Typically, if a noun phrase is composed of a common noun plus a demonstrative and/or a numeral, the common noun is the head, and the demonstrative and numeral are modifiers. As we have seen, modifiers must agree with their heads in number.

The ablative forms of numerals also have a special meaning; they refer to the number of times an event, action, or motion takes place: allrilumek 'once, one time'; mal'ugnek 'twice, two times', qaugcinek 'how many times?'.

4.3. Participial postbase -sqaq

A number of the verbs we have learned so far belong to a subcategory of verbs called descriptive verbs. Descriptive verbs refer to attributes or states, for example: asirtuq 'is good', paceshnartuq 'is cold', qatertuq 'is white', and tamlegtuq 'is black'. These usually translate in English with a form of the verb "to be" plus an adjective. Note that in Alutiiq, they are **verbs, not adjectives**, and cannot be used to modify nouns. Thus for example, **asirtuq arnaq** means 'the woman **is good**' and not 'she is a good woman'.

How can we make noun phrases where these words modify nouns, like English adjectives? To do this, we must add the following postbase:

-sqaq (V[intr]\N) 'one that V[intr]-s'

V[intr]\N means that this postbase is added to an intransitive verb (V[intr]) to produce a noun (N).

asirtuq. is good.
    asisqaq. one that is good. = good one.

tamlegtuq. is black.
    tamlesqaq. one that is black. = black one.

(Note also the meanings tamlesqaq 'black person, Negro' and qatesqaq 'white person, Caucasian').

The postbase -sqaq **cannot** be added to descriptive verbs whose stems end in te- and that have negative meanings, like asiituq 'is bad' (stem asiite-) and miktuq (stem mikte-) 'is small'. These require a different postbase that will be intruduced in unit 5.

These nominal forms of descriptive verbs, which we call **qualifiers**, can occur in the noun phrase as a modifier to the head noun, like the demonstratives and the numerals.

kawisqaq engluq. a **red** house.
una kawisqaq engluq. **this red** house.

kawisqat englut. **red** houses.
ukut kawisqat englut. **these red** houses.
ukut staaman kawisqat englut. **these three red houses**.

So the Alutiiq equivalent of 'this is a good woman' is una arnaq asisqaq.

In the modern language, this postbase may be added to any intransitive verb. (In the older language, -llria was used instead for intransitive verbs other than descriptive verbs.):

(iqallugmek) neresqaq. one that/who is eating (fish).
[older: (iqallugmek) nerellria]
(iqallugmek) neresqaq piugta. a dog that is eating (fish).

Note: Not all verbs that translate in English as "to be" plus an adjective are descriptive verbs in Alutiiq. In particular, verbs denoting mental condition are often ordinary intransitive verbs in Alutiiq, such as kaigtuq 'is hungry', qawarniuq 'is sleepy', quyauq 'is thankful', alinguq 'is afraid'.

4.4. Derivational postbases (N\V[intr])

The following postbases are added to nominal stems to form intransitive verb stems:

+(r)yug- (N\V[intr]) 'to want N'
+(r)tur- (N\V[intr]) 'to eat N'
+(r)sur- (N\V[intr]) 'to hunt or fish for N; to go after N'
+(r)te- (N\V[intr]) 'to kill or catch N;
to get N (e.g. by hunting or from the store)'

These postbases belong to the same joining type as +(r)pakat. (However, most speakers may use or at least recognize the variants -tur-, -sur-, and -te- for the last three postbases, where the stem-final consonant is dropped before the suffix.)

isu'iq. seal.
Isu'iryugtuq. He/she wants seal.
Isu'irturtuq. He/she is eating seal.
Isu'irsurtuq. He/she is hunting seal, is going after seal.
Isu'irtuq. He/she killed a seal, got a seal.

(The last three may also be **isu'iturtuq**, **isu'isurtuq**, and **isu'ituq**.)

The above verbs are nearly equivalent to sentences composed of a verb plus an oblique object:

Isu'imek piicagtuq. He/she wants **a seal.**
Isu'imek ner'uq. He/she is eating **a seal.**
Isu'imek pisurtuq. He/she is hunting **a seal**.
Isu'imek pit'uq. He/she killed **a seal**, got **a seal**.

In a certain sense, we can say that in isu'iryugtuq the oblique object (isu'imek) has been **incorporated** into the verb. Note that the number of the incorporated object can not be distinguished, so that we cannot tell whether isu'iryugtuq means that someone wants a single seal or more than one. Such a distinction can be specified, however, by a numeral modifier:

Allrilumek isu'imek piicagtuq. He/she wants **one seal**.
Allrilumek **isu'ir**yugtuq. He/she wants **one** **seal**.

Tallimanek isu'inek piicagtuq. He/she wants **five seals**.
Tallimanek **isu'ir**yugtuq. He/she wants **five** **seals**.

Here the underlined part of the verb is the incorporated object. We can say that **morphologically**--that is, in terms of the way the word is built--the incorporated object is the stem of the verb (isu'iryugtuq); whereas **syntactically**--that is, in terms of the structure of the sentence as a whole--the incorporated object is the head noun of the noun phrase (allrilumek isu'imek). This is true with other types of modifiers as well:

Asisqanek iqallugnek pit'ukuk. We 2 are catching **good fish**.
Asisqanek **iqallug**tukuk. We 2 are catching **good** **fish**.

4.5. Dummy consonants

Most nominal postbases (i.e. postbases added to noun stems) that begin with +(r)C or +(g)C, that is, a r̲ or g̲ in parentheses followed by another consonant, originally began with just +C, that is, the consonant. Another way of looking the same thing is to say that the r̲ or g̲ is a dummy consonant which was inserted after stems ending in vowels. The reason for this is probably that if the dummy consonant were not inserted it would be harder to deal with stems ending in e̲, especially when e̲-dropping would apply. If the dummy consonant is inserted, we never have to worry about e̲-dropping.

However, there are certain forms, especially with the very shortest stems in the language, namely pi- and ca-, where the stem and postbase are treated as an inseparable lexical unit and the dummy consonant has not been inserted. So we find, for example, the following forms:

piug- (from piyug-) 'to want some; to want to (do it)'

pitur- 'to consume; to drink'
catur- = caqirtur- 'to consume what? to eat or drink what?'

pisur- 'to hunt'
casur- = caqirsur- 'to hunt for what? to look, search for what?'

pit'e- 'to catch (some); to get (some)'

Vocabulary for Unit 4

Verbs

an'uq. went out, came out.
    Ani! Go out!
aqgûatuq. went to get (some). fetched (some). [takes obl. obj.]
aqumuq. sat down.
    Aqumi! Sit down!
inartuq. lay down, went to bed.
    Inarten! Lie down! Go to bed!
ikuutuq. found (some). [takes obl. obj.]
itertuq. entered, came in, went in.
    Itra! Come in!
ke̲n̲irtuq. is cooking. [takes obl. obj.]
litnaurtuq. is studying, learning.
maktuq. got up (from bed, from a recumbent position).
    Makten! Get up!
nangartuq. stood up.
    Nangarten! Stand up!
tange̲rtuq. sees.
tuutuq (or **te̲gut**uq). took (some). bought (some). [takes obl. obj.]
    (Note: this is used for taking by hand, or for buying a portable object and taking it, not for "buying" a fixed object, like a house, nor for an animal taking something in its teeth.)

Nouns

alimaq. dog salmon.
amaqaayak. humpie. pink salmon.
    (Karluk: luuqaanak)
isu^{r}iq. seal.
niklliq. red salmon.

nuna. land. (stem: nuna-)
    nunat. town, village.
palek (or palkaaq). piece of smoked salmon.
    palget (or palkaat). smoked salmon (more than one piece).
Sun'aq. Kodiak (the city, not the Island).
taquka^{r}aq*. brown bear.
    taqukaraat. brown bear (pl.).
taangaruaq. soda pop.

UNIT 5

5.1. Tense-status postbases +taar- and -n'ite-

The postbases introduced in this section indicate tense (the time frame for an action, event, etc.) and status (negativity, probability, etc.). All tense-status postbases are V\V; that is, they are added to a verb and the result is a verb.

-n'ite-, -n'ȩte- (V\V) 'not to V'
+taar- (V\V) 'to habitually V; to usually V; to always V'

The minus sign before -n'ite- (-n'ȩte-) indicates that the stem-final consonant is dropped before this postbase. The postbase +taar- is added to the stem with final consonant; as with +mȩk/+nȩk, stem-final ȩ after a single consonant is dropped before +taar- A special feature of +taar- is that when the stem ends in tȩ-, the ţ drops as well as the ȩ. Examples:

piturtuq. is drinking. (stem: pitur-)
    pitun'ituq. isn't drinking.
    piturtaartuq. drinks (habitually, usually); always drinks.
    piturtaan'ituq. doesn't (ever) drink; never drinks.

isu'iryugtuq. wants seal' (stem: isu'iryug-)
    isu'iryun'ituq. doesn't want seal.
    isu'iryugtaartuq. wants seal (habitually, usually).
    isu'iryugtaan'ituq. doesn't (ever) want seal.

ner'uq. is eating' (stem: nere-)
    neren'ituq. isn't eating.
    nertaartuq. eats (habitually, usually); always eats.
    nertaan'ituq. doesn't (ever) eat; never eats.

pektuq. is working' (stem: pekte-)
pektenituq. isn't working.
pektaartuq. works (habitually, usually); always works.
pektaan'ituq. doesn't (ever) work; never works.

As these examples show, the negative postbases -n'ite- is translated with the English word not (or its contraction, -n't). The habitual postbase +taar- indicates that the action or event is habitual, that is, it happens on a regular basis--not necessarily every time or constantly. It is usually translated by the English simple present tense, sometimes with explanatory adverbs like "usually" or "always". The negative habitual is expressed by combining these postbases, always in the same order: +taan'ite- This combination means that the action or event habitually does not occur, and translates with the English present tense with "not"--sometimes supplemented with "ever"--or with the present tense plus "never" (which is logically equivalent to "not ever").

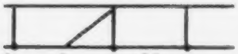
Many speakers may use a different form of the negative postbase, namely -n'ete- Since virtually all Koniag Alutiiq speakers use or at least recognize -n'ite-, we will use only this form in the examples and exercises.

Note: The combination etaar- (et'e- + +taar-) literally means 'to habitually be (there)', but usually translates 'to live, dwell (there)'. See further unit 6.

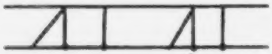
5.2. Neutralization of gemination

We have seen in 2.11 that syllable weight (light versus heavy) does not contrast in initial closed syllables. Another way to say this is that the contrast in syllable weight is neutralized in initial closed syllables. Where a contrast is neutralized, we choose the unmarked member--that is, the simplest or most basic variety of the contrasting pair--to represent the result. So, for example, we write an initial closed syllable as if it were light, since light (one vowel) is simpler than heavy (two vowels).

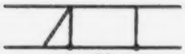
Another neutralization we find with postbases beginning with a geminated consonant, like -n'ite-, is that the contrast between plain consonant and geminated consonant is neutralized if the syllable ending with the geminated consonant is weak (i.e. unstressed). In these cases, the consonant is pronounced--and written--as a plain, ungeminated consonant. Examples:



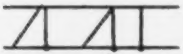
iqmigyun'itua
'I don't want snoose'



puyuruaryunitua
'I don't want a cigarette.



maqin'itua
'I'm not taking a banya'



agayunitua
'I'm not praying, going to church'

We can make the following generalization:

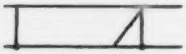
Neutralization of gemination: Geminated consonants occur only after stressed vowels. After an unstressed vowel, an underlyingly geminated consonant is not geminated, and is written without the apostrophe after it.

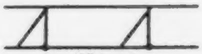
5.3. The three syllable rule: the rest of the story

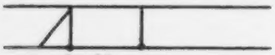
We have seen that prosodic rule 3, the three syllable rule, applies when the last two of the three light syllables (S_2S_3) constitute an iambic postbase, that is, a postbase composed of two light syllables. There is another place where this rule applies, this one somewhat harder to describe. As rule 3b indicates, this is the final stress-postponing section of the word.

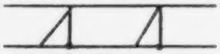
To put it very simply for now, the stress-postponing section of the word consists of **the inflectional ending plus any tense-status postbases preceding it**. Rule 3b says, then, that if the last two of three light syllables (S_2S_3) are in the final stress-postponing section of the word, and S_3 is not voiceless, then S_2S_3 together form an iambic foot.

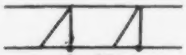
You must keep in mind that the three syllable rule only operates on sequences of three **light** syllables, where the last of these is not voiceless. So, for example, the three syllable rule will not operate with the habitual postbase +taar-; since it constitutes a heavy syllable, it will always form a monosyllabic foot. The three syllable rule does operate where the final section of the word consists either of an ending composed of two light syllables, or of the negative postbase -n'ite- plus an ending composed of one or more light syllables. Compare:

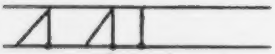

aqgûa**tuten**
'you're going to get some'

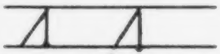

age**n'ituten**
'you're not going'

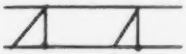

maqin'itua(nga)
'I'm not taking a banya'


maqin'ituten
'you're not...'


maqin'ituq
'he/she's not....


agayunitua(nga)
'I'm not praying'


agayunituten
'you're not...'


agayunituq
'he/she's not...'

We will see much more of this rule later when we introduce other endings and tense-status postbases.

5.4. Verb stems of the shape (C)VCeCe-

A few verb stems have the shape (C)VCeCe-, where the last consonant is a nasal and the preceding consonant is a stop. When a suffix beginning with a vowel is added to these, or when the stem-final e is retained, prosodic rule 2b may apply (see section 1.5), so that the first e is dropped. Some speakers may optionally geminate the following consonant rather than dropping this e. If the stem-final e is dropped before a consonant, then the first e is retained. In short, such stems have the shape (C)VCC or (C)VCeC' before a vowel, and (C)VCeC before a consonant.

Qec'ngukuk. or Qeceng'ukuk. We 2 are running.
Qec'ngenitukuk. or Qeceng'enitukuk. We 2 aren't running.
Qecengtaartukuk. We (always) run.

5.5. Indefinite and negative use of interrogative words

The interrogative pronouns and certain other interrogative words may be used to refer to something or someone indefinite. Thus kinaq may translate "someone, somebody" as well as "who?", and caqiq may translate "something" (or even "thing") as well as "what?".

Caqimek tangertuk. They 2 see something.
(Caqimek tangertuk? What do they 2 see?)

Kinaq tai'uq. Somebody is coming.
(Kinaq tai'uq? Who is coming?)

Note: In the older language, the two meanings of these words are kept distinct by the fact that interrogative-word questions require the use of the **interrogative mood**, which has a distinct set of verb endings: Caqimek tangertak? 'What do they 2 see?', Kina tai'a? 'Who is coming?'. In the modern language, either the interrogative mood or the indicative mood may be used in in interrogative-word questions, although the interrogative mood is probably still preferable. We will learn the endings of the interrogative mood later.

When interrogative words with an indefinite meaning occur in a sentence with a negative verb form, they translate as "not any-..." or "no-...", rather than "some-...", in English. For example:

Caqimek tangen**'it**uk. They 2 **don't** see **anything**. They 2 see **nothing**.
Kinaq tain**'it**uq. **Nobody** is coming.
Calin'itua. I'm **not doing anything**. I'm doing **nothing**.
Qayu pin'itua. Nothing (special) is going on with me.

5.6. Positive and negative pairs of descriptive verbs

As we have seen, descriptive verbs in Alutiiq describe some physical or abstract quality: color, size, worth, etc. They characteristically translate in English as a form of the verb "to be" plus an adjective. Many descriptive verbs come in pairs, one member referring to a positive quality, and the other to the corresponding negative quality:

Positive	Negative
ange- to be big.	mikte- to be little.
take- to be long.	nanite- to be short.
asir- to be good.	asiite- to be bad.
cuka- to be fast.	cukaite- to be slow.

Descriptive verbs with a negative connotation, which are called **privative descriptive verbs**. Most of these end in te-. These privative descriptive verbs ending in te- have a special participial form. Instead of adding +sqaq, like the non-privative descriptive verbs do, these verbs drop the final te- and add lnguq* after a vowel, elnguq* after a consonant. The asterisk indicates the stem ends in strong r; the absolutive plural form ends in (e)lnguut. Thus the participial forms of the above verbs are

angesqaq. big one.	mikelnguq. little one.
(angesqat. big ones.	mikelnguut. little ones.)
takesqaq. long one.	nanilnguq. short one.
asisqaq. good one.	asiilnguq. bad one.
cukasqaq. fast one.	cukailnguq. slow one.

The verb et'e- to be (there)', although it is not negative, has the participial form elnguq*. the one that is (there)' (plural elnguut. those that are (there)').

5.7. Derivational postbases forming descriptive verbs

The following derivational postbases form descriptive verbs from verb stems, and sometimes from stems that do not occur by themselves, which are called roots. They occur in non-privative and privative pairs.

+nar- (V\V[descr]) to be liable to cause one to V; to be V-able;
to be something one should V in reference to.
negative: +naite- (V\V[descr]) not to be liable to cause one to V.

+tar- (V\V[descr]). to be apt to V; to V by nature.
negative: +taite- (V\V[descr]). not to be apt to V;
not to V by nature.

Examples:

quya- to be thankful, grateful (at the moment).
quyanar- to be thankworthy.
(literally: to be something to be thankful for).
quyanaite- to be unthankworthy.
quyatar- to be thankful, grateful (by nature).
quyataite- to be unthankful, ungrateful (by nature).

alinge- to be afraid.
alingnar- to be fearsome, scary, dangerous.
(literally: to be something to be afraid of)
alingnaite- not to be fearsome, scary, dangerous.
alingtar- to be fearful (by nature).
alingtaite- not to be fearful (by nature).

A few of these verbs ending in +nar- have special interjection forms ending in +naa:

Quyanaa. Thank you. (literally: How thankworthy!)

Alingnaa. (indicates fear; literally: How fearsome!)

Two other suffixes commonly form descriptive verb pairs from nouns or roots:

+tu- (N\V[descr]). to abound in N; to have abundant N.
+kite- (N\V[descr]). to lack N; to have scarce N.

imaq*. contents; ocean. (stem imar-)
    imartu- to be deep (of water).
    imarkite- to be shallow (of water).

kanag- (root, meaning uncertain)
    kanagtu- to be tall (of a person, animal, tree, plant).
    kanagkite- to be short (of a person, animal, tree, plant).

akiq. money. (archaic stem: aki-)
    akitu- to be expensive.
    akikite- to be inexpensive, cheap.

5.8. Time nouns

Time nouns refer to a regularly recurring period of time, e.g. erneq 'day', unuk 'night', and Agayuneq 'Sunday'. They are quite often used in the locative case, and answer the interrogative word cami? 'when?':

Cami maqitaartuten? When do you take banyas?
Maqinermi maqitaartua. I take banyas on Saturday.

Time nouns in the absolutive case followed by tamiin express the meaning "every N[time]". Note, however, that ertii (tamiin) is used for "every day".

Maqineq tamiin maqitaartua. I take banyas every Saturday.

Ertii (tamiin) pektaartua. I work every day.

Time nouns in the absolutive case are also used in constructions of the following type:

Erneq mal'ugnek nertaartukuk. We 2 eat twice a day.

Vocabulary for Unit 5

Verbs

agayuuq. is praying, is saying one's prayers, is crossing oneself, is attending church, is celebrating one's feastday or namesday.

Agayuut. It is Sunday. It is a feastday.

akituuq. is expensive.

akikituq. is inexpensive, cheap.

alinguq. is afraid, fearful (for the moment). (not Vd)

Alingnaa! (Indicates fear.)

alingnartuq. is fearsome, scary, dangerous.

alingnaituq. is not fearsome, innocuous, harmless.

alingtartuq. is fearful (by nature).

alingtaituq. is fearless.

cukauq, **cuka'**uq. is fast.

cukaituq. is slow.

imartuuq. is deep (of water).

imarkituq. is shallow (of water).

kaigtuq. is hungry. (not Vd)

kanagtuuq. is tall (of person, animal, tree, plant).

kanagkituq. is short (of person, animal, tree, plant).

kangirciuq. understands.

maqartuq. is warm, hot (to the touch, of the environment).

maqiuq, **maqi'**uq. is taking a banya. is celebrating the eve of one's feastday or namesday.

Maqiut. It is Saturday. It is the eve of a feastday.

naklleg- (root)

Nakllegnaa! Poor thing! Poor you!

nakllegnartuq. is pitiful.

nakllegnaituq. is not to be pitied.

nakllegtartuq. is merciful, compassionate.

nakllegtaituq. is merciless.

niugtuq or **yugt**uq. spoke (briefly).
    niugauq or **yuuga**uq. is speaking, conversing.
        (stem: niu^{g}a- or yuu^{g}a-)
patesnartuq. is cold (to the touch, of the environment).
qawarniuq. is sleepy. (not Vd)
qec'nguq, **qeceng'**uq. is running. (stem: qecenge-)
qesauq, **qesa**'uq. is lazy.
quyauq, **quya**'uq. is thankful, grateful (for the moment). (not Vd)
    quyanartuq. is thankworthy.
        quyanaituq. is not thankworthy.
    quyatartuq. is thankful, grateful (by nature).
        quyataituq. is ungrateful.
taangayugtuq. is thirsty. (not Vd)
teng'uq. flew (away).

Nouns

agayuneq. Sunday, feast day.
akgua'aq*. evening.
Alutiiq. Alutiiq.
    Alutiitestun or sugtestun. in Alutiiq.
erneq. day.
ertii (tamiin). every day.
iqmik. snoose, chewing tobacco.
Kasaakaq. Russian.
    Kasaakatestun. in Russian.
kuik. stream, creek, river.
    kuiget or kui'it. streams, creeks, rivers.
maqineq. Saturday, eve of feast day; week.
Mřikanaq. English-speaking white person.
    Mřikanatestun. in English.
saqulgaq*, saqul^{g}aq*. duck, fowl, bird.
    saqulgaat. ducks, birds.

suupaq. soup.
    suupartuq. is eating soup.
unuaq. morning.
unuk. night.
uriitaq. chiton, bidarky.

Other words

cami. when? (used with habitual verb forms)
    Cami tengtaartut? When do they fly (habitually)?
tamiin. each, every. (used with a preceding time noun)
    maqineq tamiin. every Saturday; every week.
    unuk tamiin. every night.

UNIT 6

6.1. Derivational postbases

+(r)miu^{g}aq*, +(r)miu(q) (N\N) 'person from N (a place)'
(plural +(r)miugaat, +(r)miut)

Qikertaq. Kodiak Island.
    Qikertarmiu'aq, Qikertarmiuq. Kodiak Islander.
Sun'aq. Kodiak (the city).
    Sun'armiu'aq, Sun'armiuq. person from Kodiak.
Kal'ut. Karluk. (plural noun)
    Kal'urmiu'aq, Kal'urmiuq. person from Karluk.
naken? from where?
    nakermiu'aq?, nakermiuq? person from where?

Nakermiu'aq ellpet? Where are you from?
Cirnirmiu'aq gui. I'm from Chignik.

The two variants of this postbase are pretty much interchangeable. The parentheses around the final q in +(r)miu(q) indicates that the stem ends in a vowel (stem: +(r)miu-), but the absolutive singular ends in q.

+wik (V\N) 'place for V-ing'

kenir- to cook.
    kenirwik 'kitchen'
agayu- to go to church.
    agayuwik. church.
nere- to eat.
    nerwik. eating place, cafeteria, restaurant.
pekte- to work.
    pekgûik. work place, office.
et'e- to be.

eg'ûik or elwik. residence, place where somebody/something is.

As with +mek/+nek and +taar-, stem-final e is dropped before +wik. If the stem ends in te-, the t combines with w to give gû, as in pekgûik (plural pekguit).

6.2. The locative and allative cases

The locative and allative cases of nouns are formed according to exactly the same pattern as the ablative case. The endings for all three cases, as well as the absolutive, are given in the following chart:

	singular	plural	dual
absolutive	--	+(e)t	+(e)k
locative	+mi	+ni	+(e)gni
allative	+men	+nun	+(e)gnun
ablative	+mek	+nek	+(e)gnek

The locative and allative singular and plural are formed just like the ablative singular and plural. In all three cases, too, the dual is formed by changing the k of the absolutive dual ending to g- and adding the form of the ending beginning with n.

As we have seen, the ablative case has a special usage: it indicates the oblique object of an intransitive verb. With verbs of motion, however, its meaning "from, out of, off of" is just the opposite of that of the allative case, "to, into, onto". The ablative case indicates the **place of origination** of the motion, and the allative case indicates the **place of termination** of the motion. The locative case indicates **location**: "at, in, on". Examples:

Sun'ami etaartuq. She lives **in Kodiak**.
Sun'amen ag'uq. She's going **to Kodiak**.

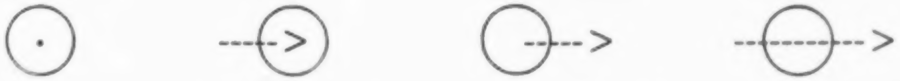
Sun'amek tai'uq. She's coming **from Kodiak**.

Agayuwigmi nangarngauq. He's standing **in the church**.
Agayuwigmen itertuq. He entered **into the church**.
Agayuwigmek an'uq. He went **out of the church**.

Stuulumi et'ut neqet. The foods are **on the table**.
Stuulumen ugtuq arya'anguaq. The little girl got up **onto the table**.
Stuulumek aciwartuq. She got down **off the table**.

These three cases, then, in addition to one we will learn later (the perlative), are called the local cases, since they refer to relationships in space or time. The following diagrams may help you to visualize these relationships. Here a circle represents a location in space or time, a dot represents being at rest, and an arrow represents motion relative to the location.

locative	allative	ablative	perlative
+mi/+ni	+men/+nun	+mek/+nek	+kun
'at, in, on'	'to, into, onto'	'from, out of, off of'	'by way of, via, through, along'



With certain verbs having meanings like "forget," "leave," "get stuck," the allative case is used to indicate where the object ends up. Also, with aqgûatuq 'went to get (some)', the allative case is used to indicate where the object is gotten:

Láugkaamen aqgûatukut neqnek. We went **to the store** to get food.
We went to get food **from the store**. (literally: **to the store**.)

6.3. More demonstrative pronouns

Modern English has just two demonstratives: "this/these" and "that/those". Alutiiq has many more than two demonstratives. The two we have learned so far, una and taugna, have more precise meanings than English "this" and "that". First of all, in Alutiiq these refer to something confined to a specific place, not a moving object or an area. This is true also of the demonstratives that will be introduced here. Second, taugna refers to something that is either near the hearer, or something that has been referred to previously or whose identity is understood between the speaker and the hearer. It is not used for pointing out something whose identity is being newly introduced. To do this, we must use a more specific demonstrative, one that indicates orientation relative to the speaker and hearer. Three will be introduced here: ikna, referring to something distant but on the same level; pingna, referring to something higher up; and kan'a, referring to something lower down. Following are the stem forms of these demonstratives and the interrogative word kina 'who?, someone, anyone':

	abs. sg.	sg. stem	non-sg. stem
who, someone	kina	kitu-	kinku-
this	una	uu-	uku-
that (understood)	taugna	taug'u-	taugku-
that over there	ikna	ik'u-	ikegku-
that up there	pingna	ping'u-	pingku-
that down there	kan'a	kat'u-	kanku-

For the demonstratives and kina, the suffix +na is added to form the absolutive singular, +(')u- to form the singular stem, and +ku- to form the non-singular stem. The use of these stems can be illustrated with forms of una 'this':

	sing.	plur.	dual
abs.	**una**	**uku**t	**ukuk**
loc.	**uu**mi	**uku**ni	**uku**gni
all.	**uu**men	**uku**nun	**uku**gnun
abl.	**uu**mek	**uku**nek	**uku**gnek

6.4. Review of syntactic structures

At this point it will be useful to review the syntactic categories and structures of Alutiiq. We will introduce a kind of shorthand notation for indicating syntactic structure that is commonly used among linguists. First, we use shorthand labels for the various constituents, or elements, of the sentence. As a temporary example, let's use X, Y, and Z. We also write rules, or formulas explaining how larger constituents are formed by putting smaller constituents together. For example, X > Y Z means that a larger constituent X is formed from two smaller constituents: Y and Z. If a label is in parentheses, that means that the constituent is optional, so X > Y (Z) means that either X > Y or X > Y Z. An asterisk after the end parenthesis means that there may be more than one of this constituent, so X > Y (Z)* means that X > Y, or X > Y Z, or X > Y Z Z, or X > Y Z Z Z, and so on.

Keep in mind that the constituents of each larger category (i.e. Y Z) are given in the ordinary or unmarked order: head last. [We will here use bold face to indicate the head: Y **Z**.] The order of these constituents can usually be switched around, as discussed in 3.7. For example, we can find **Z** Y instead of Y **Z**.

We will start with the smaller constituents and work our way up to the bigger ones.

6.4.1. The noun phrase (NP)

NP > (N[dem]) (N[num]) (N[qual])* (N).

All the elements of a noun phrase (NP) are optional, and they are all nominals (N). They must agree in number and case. The optional elements of a noun phrase are these: a demonstrative pronoun (N[dem]), a numeral (N[num]), one or more qualifier (N[qual]), and an ordinary noun (N). The head of a NP is the noun (N). If there is no noun, the NP has no head. The other nominals are modifiers (or adjuncts).

Note: You may be interested in how we know which element is the head of the NP, and what difference it makes. The answer has to do with incorporation. Recall that the head of an oblique object NP is what gets incorporated into the verb with NV[intr] postbases like +(r)yug- 'to want N'. If a NP has no head, none of the nominals in the NP can be incorporated. Thus, for example, we cannot say ***pingayuryugtua** for "I want **three**" or ***taugkuryugtua** for "I want **those**."

The qualifier (N[qual]) has not yet been formally introduced. Qualifiers for the most part correspond to English adjectives. In Alutiiq, qualifiers are more general nominals that modify more specific nominals. They generally specify type or kind. There are several subcategories.

Sex

arnaq uciitilaq. **woman** teacher.

Nationality or provenance

Kasaakaq kas'aq. **Russian** priest.
Alutiiq uciitilaq. **Alutiiq** teacher.
Kal'urmiu'aq tan'uraq. **Karluk** boy.

Material

qupuraq engluq. **wooden** house. (qupuraq means 'stick' or 'piece of wood')

alagnaq wařiniaq. **salmonberry** jam.

Participial

maqasqaq maqiwik. **hot** banya.

asiilnguq kaařaq. **bad** car.

Others

allat suuget. **different** people. **other** people.

nuta'aq skuuluq. **new** school.

qangirllaq maqiwik. **old** banya.

cakuciq tuuřaq? **what kind of** dory

Note that there is an interrogative qualifier, cakuciq.

6.4.2. The verb phrase (VP)

VP[intr] > (NP[oblique])* **V[intr]**

A verb phrase (VP) is composed of a verb (V) plus optionally one or more NP. The verb is the head of the VP. For the time being we will only deal with intransitive verbs (V[intr]). These combine only with oblique NPs; that is, NPs in one of the oblique cases: locative, allative, ablative, perlative, and comparative. These oblique NPs are also called adjuncts of the verb. The verb and its adjuncts combine to form an intransitive verb phrase (VP[intr]).

So far we have introduced four different kinds of adjuncts, or oblique NPs, each of which occurs with a different group of verbs. First, we have the oblique object in the ablative case (NP[abl]). The following verbs take oblique objects:

(neqmek) aqgûatuq. went to get some (food).
(palegnek) ikuutuq. found some (smoked salmon).
(nikllimek) ke̲n̲irtuq. is cooking (red salmon).
(isu'imek) ner'uq. is eating (seal).
(taangaruamek) piturtuq. is drinking (a pop).
(Kasaakanek) tangertuq. sees (a Russian).

The NV[intr] postbases also take oblique objects. The head N of the oblique object NP is incorporated into the verb, and its modifiers are in the ablative case:

(pingayunek) nuusiryugtuq. wants (three) knives.
(takqamek) nikllirtuq. caught (a long) red salmon.

Verbs of location take oblique NPs in the locative case (N[loc]).

(skuulumi) et'uq. is (in school).
(Anchorage-mi) etaartuq. lives (in Anchorage).
(tawani) aqumgauq. is sitting (there).
(miswigmi) nangarngauq. is standing (on the runway).

Verbs of action and event may also take oblique NPs in the locative case as well:

(skuulumi) pektuq. is working (at the school).
(nerwigmi) kuugiartuq. is drinking coffee (in the cafeteria).
(Ag'ûanermi) aqllatuq. is windy (on Afognak).
(englumi) litnaurtuq. is studying (in the house).

Verbs of motion (including postural verbs) take oblique NPs in the allative and ablative cases (N[all] and N[abl]):

(skuulumen) ag'uq. is going (to the school).
(Nuniamen) ayugiuq. is going by boat (to Old Harbor).

(ika'ut) nugtartuq. is moving house ([to] over there).
(Kal'unek) tai'uq. is coming (from Karluk).
(llaamen) qursaturtuq. is going (outside) to urinate.

Finally, verbs relating to speech and understanding take oblique NPs in the comparative case (N[compar]). We have introduced these as lexical items ending in -te̲stun, referring to a language:

(Alutiite̲stun) niugtuq. spoke (in Alutiiq).
(Alutiite̲stun) niugauq. is speaking (Alutiiq).
(Kasaakate̲stun) kangirciuq. understands (Russian).
(Mřikanate̲stun) litnauriuq. is teaching (in English).

Note on incorporation:

VP[intr] > NP[abl] **V[intr]**
> (N[dem, abl]) (N[num, abl]) (N[qual, abl])* **N[abl] V[intr]**

The top line here is the formula for a VP consisting of a V plus an oblique object NP. In the bottom line, the NP is written out in full. Note that all the Ns in the NP agree: they are all in the ablative case.

VP[intr] > (N[num, abl]) (N[qual, abl])* **N·N\V[intr]**

The above formula represents what happens when the head verb is not a separate word, but a N\V[intr] postbase. In this case, the head noun of the oblique object NP is incorporated; that is, it combines with the N\V[intr] postbase to form a single word (here represented as N·N\V[intr]), which is morphologically an intransitive verb. The modifiers of the NP, if any, are in the ablative case. (N[dem] is omitted here because, as noted in 4.1, demonstrative pronouns do not usually occur as modifiers, since they imply that the NP is definite.)

Examples of these two constructions:

Pingayunek kawisqanek **alimanek pit'ukut**.
Pingayunek kawisqanek **alimartukut**.
both: **We caught** three red **dog salmon.**

6.4.3. The sentence (S)

S > (NP[abs]) **VP[intr]**
S > (NP[abs]) **NP[abs]**
S > (NP[abs]) **PRED**

We have introduced three types of sentence (S). All of these have an optional NP in the absolutive case (NP[abs]), called the subject. The remaining part is called the predicate. The predicate is the head of the S. There are three types of predicate: an intransitive VP (VP[intr]), another absolutive NP (NP[abs]), and a non-verbal predicate (PRED). In the first two types, the subject must agree in number with the predicate. In the third type, such agreement is not possible, because non-verbal predicates have no number marking.

Vocabulary for Unit 6

- **aciwar**tuq. is going down, is descending.
  - Aciwaa! Go down!
- **anar**tuq. is defecating.
  - **anaqsatur**tuq. is going (to the bathroom) to defecate.
  - **anaqsug**tuq. has to defecate.
- aqllaq. wind.
  - **aqllar**tuq or **aqllang**uq. it is windy. the wind is blowing.
- **ayugi**uq. is going by boat. (stem before a consonant: aiwi-)
- caayuq. tea.
  - **caayur**tuq. is drinking tea.
- cakuciq? what kind? some kind.
  - cakuciq kaařaq? what kind of car?
- **et'**uq. is (there).
  - elwik, eg'ûik. place where someone/something is. residence.
  - **etaar**tuq. lives (there).
- kuugiaq. coffee.
  - **kuugiar**tuq. is drinking coffee.
- lla. outside. the world, universe, weather. (stem: llaa-)
- **macar**tuq or **macang**uq. the sun is shining.
- **mayur**tuq. is climbing (up).
  - Mayua! Climb up!
- **mit'**uq. landed (of a bird, plane).
  - miswik, mig'ûik. landing strip. runway. airport.
- **nugtar**tuq. is moving (from one residence to another).
- qaniq. (falling) snow.
  - **qanir**tuq or **qaning**uq. it is snowing.
- qiteq. rain.
  - **qiter**tuq or **qit'ng**uq, **qiteng'**uq. it is raining.
    - (stem: qiter- or qitenge-)
- quta. beach. (stem: qute-)
- **qur'**uq. is urinating.
  - **qursatur**tuq. is going (to the bathroom) to urinate.

qursugtuq. has to urinate.
skuuluq. school.
skuulurtuq. is going to school.
tag'uq. is going up, ascending.
Tagi! Go up!

Place names

Qikȩrtaq. Kodiak Island.
Tamallkuaq. the mainland.

Ag'ûaneq. Afognak (Island).
Anwik. Monk's Lagoon.
Iirak. Eagle Harbor. (dual)
Kal'ut. Karluk. (plural)
Kasukuak. Akhiok.
Masiqsiraq. Port Lions.
Nuniaq. Old Harbor.
Salliitaq. Sitkalidak Island.
Sigtunaq. Sitkinak Island.
Sun'aq. Kodiak (the city).
Uusenkaaq. Ouzenkie.
Uyaqsaq. Larsen Bay.

Cirniq. Chignik.
Perry-q. Perryville.
Masriq. Port Heiden.
Ugaasiq. Ugashek.
Nakniq. Naknek.

Nanwalek. English Bay.
Paluwik. Port Graham.
Angagkitaqnuuq. Seldovia.

UNIT 7

7.1. Intransitive past verb endings

The intransitive past verb endings are illustrated with forms of ner'uq 'is eating':

1.sg. nerellria**nga** or nerell'**ianga** 'I ate'
1.pl. nerellria**kut** or nerell'**iakut** 'we ate'
1.du. nerellria**kuk** or nerell'**iakuk** 'we 2 ate'

2.sg. nerellria**ten** or nerell'**iaten** 'you ate'
2.pl. nerellria**ci** or nerell'**iaci** 'you guys ate'
2.du. nerellria**tek** or nerell'**iatek** 'you 2 ate'

3.sg. nerellria or nerell'ia 'he/she/it ate'
3.pl. nerellriit or nerell'iit 'they ate'
3.du. nerellriik or nerell'iik 'they 2 ate'

These endings are formed with the **intransitive past marker**, -llria- or -ll'ia-, followed by the person/number marker. The person/number markers for the intransitive past are the same as for the intransitive non-past, except that the 3.sg. ending is zero instead of -q. An important irregularity is that the intransitive past marker appears as -llrii- or -ll'ii- in the 3.pl. and 3.du.

The older form of the intransitive past marker is -llria-; this form is used everywhere in KA. We will use this form here. Many Kodiak speakers, although recognizing -llria-, now tend to use -ll'ia- instead.

Recall that the non-past tense is used for a state which is true at the present time, or for an action or event that is now taking place or has just now taken place. In other words, the Alutiiq non-past includes what is considered the immediate past from an English-speaking point of view. The Alutiiq past refers to any past time other than the immediate past. It always translates as the English past. Examples:

Stem	3.sg. intr. past
pitur-	pitullria 'drank'
asir-	asillria 'was good'
qawarni-	qawarnillria 'was sleepy'
inarte-	inartellria 'lay down'
aqume-	aqumellria 'sat down'
age-	agellria 'went'
ayugi-	aiwillria 'went by boat'

In unit 5.6, we pointed out that negative descriptive verbs ending in te-, as well as the verb et'e- 'to be', form their participles by dropping their final te- and adding lnguq* (rather than with -sqaq). The 3.sg. affirmative past of these verbs is identical with the absolutive singular form of the participle. The rest of the persons and numbers are formed by replacing the final q with the appropriate person/number marker:

1.sg. asiilngu**a(nga)** 'I was bad'
1.pl. asiilngu**kut** 'we were bad'
1.du. asiilngu**kuk** 'we 2 were bad'

2.sg. asiilngu**ten** 'you were bad'
2.pl. asiilngu**ci** 'you guys were bad'
2.du. asiingu**tek** 'you 2 were bad'

3.sg. asiilngu**q** 'he/she/it were bad'
3.pl. asiilngu**t** 'they were bad'
3.du. asiilngu**k** 'they 2 were bad'

Note that **only** the 3.sg. past is identical with the absolutive participle;

the absolutive plural and dual participles have double u: asiilnguut 'good ones' and asiilnguuk '2 good ones'.

For reference: The third person forms of the intransitive past endings are also used for the participial forms of action and motion verbs (not for descriptive verbs; see 4.3 and 5.4):

nerellria	'one that is eating'
nerellriit	'ones that are eating'
nerellriik	'2 ones that are not eating'

The participle may have adjuncts--oblique NPs--just like any intransitive verb form. It functions as a qualifer in a NP, modifying the head noun. For example:

Ikegkuk arnak **isu'imek nerellriik** englartuk. Those two women **who are eating seal** over there are laughing.

7.2. The negative intransitive past

The intransitive past has special negative forms formed from the negative intransitive past marker, which is -n'ilngu- (or -n'ell'ngu-), plus the person/number endings of the non-past tense. We will again exemplify with forms of ner'uq 'is eating':

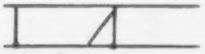
1.sg.	neren'ilngua**(nga)**	'I didn't eat'
1.pl.	neren'ilngu**kut**	'we didn't eat'
1.du.	neren'ilngu**kuk**	'we 2 didn't eat'
2.sg.	neren'ilngu**ten**	'you didn't eat'
2.pl.	neren'ilngu**ci**	'you guys didn't eat'
2.du.	neren'ilngu**tek**	'you 2 didn't eat'

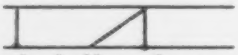
3.sg. neren'ilngu**q** 'he/she/it didn't eat'
3.pl. neren'ilngu**t** 'they didn't eat'
3.du. neren'ilngu**k** 'they 2 didn't eat'

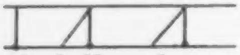
The third person singular form is also used for the negative intransitive participle. It is composed of the negative postbase -n'ite- (or -n'ete-) plus the participial postbase lnguq*. Compare the absolutive participial forms:

neren'ilnguq 'one that isn't eating'
neren'ilnguut 'ones that aren't eating'
neren'ilnguuk '2 ones that aren't eating'

The syllable -nil- (-nell-)in these endings, being a form of the negative postbase -n'ite- (-n'ete-), is in the final stress-postponing portion of the word, and should be stress-postponing according to what we have said so far. However, there is a tendency for **closed** syllables not to act stress-postponing. Different speakers give different foot patterns, so I cannot make a hard and fast rule here. But compare







aiwinitukut aiwinilngukut or aiwinilngukut
'we aren't going by boat' 'we didn't go by boat'

Exercise: Write in 3 separate columns all the endings of each of the intransitive tenses introduced so far (non-past, affirmative past, negative past). Underline the person/number suffixes. In a fourth column, write just the person/number suffixes.

7.3. Habitual Past

The past endings (and in fact, the endings of all tenses and moods) can occur with the habitual postbase +taar-. The combination of habitual and past refers to something that habitually took place in the past. Often the best way to translate this combination in English is with "used to V" or "would (always) V", but sometimes it is translated with the simple English past.

Taquka'arsurtaallriakut ugnerkami. We used to hunt bear in the spring. We would (always) hunt bear in the spring. We hunted bear in the spring (habitually).

Uksumi ing'inun mayurtaan'ilngut. In the winter they didn't (use to) climb up into the mountains. In the winter they would never climb up into the mountains.

7.4. The postbase -nku-

The postbase -nku- is related to +ku-, the suffix added to make the non-singular stem of demonstrative pronouns. The postbase -nku- is typically added to a noun referring to a specific individual or individuals (usually persons or animals), and the result refers to this individual or these individuals plus one or more others. Thus the result is non-singular--either dual or plural. When added to an English (or Russian) word ending in a consonant, the form is +ku- rather than -nku-.

Iwanaq. John.
    Iwanankuk. John and someone else.
    Iwanankut. John and some other people. ("John and them.")

Ed. Ed.
    Ed-kuk. Ed and someone else.
    Ed-kut. Ed and some other people.

kas'aq. priest.
    kas'ankuk. the priest and someone else.
    kas'ankut. the priests and someone else,
        or the priest and some other people,
        or the priests and some other people.

The case endings are added just as they are to non-singular demonstrative pronouns.

Kas'ankunun kula'illriakuk. We 2 went to the priest and his family's place to visit. ["to the priest and them's"]

The postbase -nku- is one of the few postbases added to nouns that belongs to the final stress-postponing portion of the word:

kas'ankunun

7.5. The enclitic -llu

Two NPs can be conjoined by adding the enclitic -llu to the second. There is a big difference between the way this is done in Alutiiq as opposed to English. In Alutiiq, **the first NP must include the second**. In the case of ordinary nouns, this is done by having the first NP end with a form of -nku-. The second NP, the one to which -llu is added, must be in the absolutive case.

Iwanankuk uciitilaq-llu. John and the teacher. ["John and someone else, namely the teacher."
Iwanankut uciitilat-llu. John and the teachers. ["John and some other people, namely the teachers."]

kas'ankuk uciitilaq-llu. the priest and the teacher. ["the priest and someone else, namely the teacher."]
kas'ankut uciitilaq-llu. the priests and the teacher. ["the priests and someone else, namely the teacher."]
kas'ankut uciitilat-llu. the priest(s) and the teachers. ["the priest(s) and some other people, namely the teachers."]

If the first NP is a personal pronoun, it must also include the second:

guangkunuk Ed-llu. Ed and me. ["me and someone else, namely Ed."]
gwuangkuta Ed-llu. Ed and us. ["me and some other people, including Ed."]
guangkuta kas'at-llu. the priests and me, or the priests and us. ["me and some other people, namely/including the priests."]
ellpetek Maasaa-llu. Masha and you. ["you and someone else, namely Masha."]

Note that the non-singular forms of the first and second person pronouns mean exactly what is in the brackets; for example, guangkunuk usually translates as "we 2" but this is equivalent in meaning to "me and someone else".

Furthermore, the personal pronoun is almost always omitted whenever the ending on the verb indicates its identity.

Ed-llu tuuřamen aciwallriakuk. Ed and I went down to the skiff.
Angun-llu nerellriakut. The old man and us ate. [i.e. "The old man ate with us."]
Maasaa-llu-qaa taillriaci? Did Masha and you guys come? [i.e. "Did Masha come with you guys?"]

In the last sentence, note that the yes/no question enclitic -qaa is added to the noun plus -llu.

Unlike English, the personal pronoun cannot be the second NP. In Alutiiq, we cannot say *"Ed-kuk gui-llu" for "Ed and I". The personal pronoun must be the first NP, or indicated by the ending on the verb.

Demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, may be either the first or the second NP. If the demonstrative comes first, it must of course include the second NP, which means that it must be non-singular. The non-singular demonstratives already have the suffix +ku-, so, like the personal pronouns, they do not need to add -nku-.

Ukuk John-llu aiwillriik. John and this one went by boat.

If the demonstrative comes second, and if it is singular, -llu is added to the **non-absolutive singular stem** of the demonstrative, rather than to its absolutive singular form. In this case it is written as if it were a case ending, without the hyphen.

John-kuk uullu aiwillriik. John and this one went by boat.
(not *John-kuk una-llu)
Taug'ullu atullriakuk. He and I sang.
["we 2, including that one, sang"]

The following will serve as the formula for this type of conjunction:

NP > N[+ku-] N[abs, -llu]

The first noun must include the second and contain a +ku- element. Non-singular demonstratives and personal pronouns already contain this element; other nouns acquire it by adding the postbase -nku- (after Alutiiq words) or +ku- (after English words and names). The second noun is in the absolutive case, and is followed by the enclitic -llu.

7.6. Other means of conjoining NPs

The construction with -llu works for joining two NPs referring to specific persons or objects. It does not seem to be used when referring to non-specific entities, e.g. generic expressions like "men and women". It also does not seem to be used to join more than two NPs. What usually happens where the construction with -llu cannot be used is that the NPs are simply listed, often as an afterthought to the sentence:

Nuniamen aiwillriakut: Mary, Frank, John, gui.
Mary, Frank, John, and I went (by boat) to Old Harbor. ["We went (by boat) to Old Harbor: Mary, Frank, John, me."]

Some people may use cali in the same way as English "and" in these cases:

Mary, Frank, John, cali gui.

The Russian word for "or" has been taken over into the Kodiak variety of KA, at least by some speakers. It is ili, and seems to be used pretty much like English "or".

Apaliik ili Albert. Paul or Albert.

To offer a choice between two NPs, the first may be followed by -qaa and optionally also ili.

Caqimek sarsaciqsit: caayumek-qaa (ili) kuugiamek?
What will you have to drink: tea or coffee?

7.7. The postbase +(s)ta

The postbase +(s)ta creates nouns referring to people that do something, often people that specialize in doing something.

+(s)ta (V\N) 'V-er; person that V-s' (stem: +(s)te-)

The s in parentheses is added after a verb stem ending in a vowel.

pisur- to hunt.
pisurta. hunter.

kenir- to cook.
kenirta. cook (person that cooks).

naaqi- to read.

naaqista. reader. [In the Orthodox Church, a reader is someone who conducts a lay service. They are traditionally ordained, but are not authorized to take the role of a priest.]

pekte- to work.

pekte̲sta. worker.

7.8. The plural of nouns ending in VVk; e-assimilation

Nouns whose stem ends with a vowel pair followed by g̲ form the plural simply by adding +et to the stem. Since the g̲ comes before a single vowel, however, fricative dropping usually occurs (although it appears to be optional in this case). In this case, however, the vowel e̲ being phonetically neutral or "colorless", acts like a chameleon, adopting the vowel quality or "color" of the preceding vowel, and in effect becomes a copy of this vowel. This process of phonetic adaptation we call assimilation.

sing.		plur.
suk 'person'	suug-	suuget, suu'ut
kuik 'river'	kuig-	kuiget, kui'it
yaasiik 'box'	yaasiig-	yaasiiget, yaasii'it

E-assimilation: If fricative dropping occurs after a prime vowel and before e̲, the e̲ assimilates to the preceding vowel (that is, it turns into a copy of this vowel).

Vocabulary for Unit 7

alla. other (one), different (one).
amiik. door.
awa'i. now, already; (in narrative) then
[Awa'i may be used with non-past or past tense:]
Piturtua awa'i. I'm eating now. I'm already eating.
Pitullrianga awa'i. I ate already.
aturtuq. is singing.
englartuq. is laughing.
iwa'atuq. is searching, looking for some. [takes obl. obj.]
ke̲siin. only, just, nothing else.
Pektuq ke̲siin. He's only working. He's doing nothing but work.
nang'uq. is all gone, is exhausted, depleted.
niituq. hears. [takes obl. obj.]
nuryugtuq. needs some. [takes obl. obj.]
nutek or nutgutaq. gun.
pařag'uutaq. boat.
piicagtuq. wants some, asks for some. [takes obl. obj.]
pingqe̲rtuq. has some. [takes obl. obj.]
pisurtuq. is hunting/fishing (for some). [takes obl. obj.]
pit'uq. caught/killed some. [takes obl. obj.]
piituq. (1) has none, doesn't have any. [takes obl. obj.]
(2) is not (there, home); there is none, there isn't any.
[Note: Usage (1) is the negative counterpart to pingqertuq; usage (2) is the negative counterpart to et'uq.]
qayaq. kayak, baidarka.
qenawik. hospital.
qia'uq. is crying.
stuulciik. chair.
suu'uq. was born.
teglegtuq. stole (some). [takes obl. obj.]
tuquuq, **tuqu'**uq. died.
yaasiik. box.

Time expressions used with the past tense

qangwaq? when (in the past)?

gûanirpak. a (little) while ago. not long ago.
unuk. last night.
akgua'aq. yesterday.
iciwaq. a few days ago.
qangiq. long ago.

UNIT 8

8.1. The future postbases +ciqe- and +ningaite-

The Alutiiq counterpart to the English future tense is formed with the postbase +ciqe- for the affirmative future, and +ningaite- for the negative future, followed by the non-past indicative endings. These are both adding-type, and stem-final e is dropped before them. They also have alternate forms after stems ending in te (as does +wik).

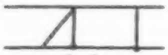
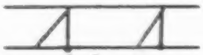
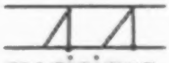
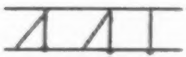
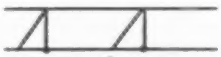
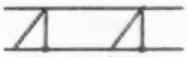
te- plus +ciqe- becomes ciiqe-
te- plus +ningaite- becomes ningaite-
te- plus +wik becomes gûik
te- plus +taar- becomes taar-

Stem	Affirmative future	Negative future
pitur-	piturciquq 'will drink'	piturningaituq 'won't drink'
asir-	asirciquq 'will be good'	asirningaituq 'won't be good'
maqi-	maqiciquq 'will banya'	maqiningaituq 'won't banya'
nere-	nerciquq 'will eat'	nerningaituq 'won't eat'
aqume-	aqumciquq 'will sit'	aqumningaituq 'won't sit down'
et'e-	eciiquq 'will be'	en'ingaituq 'won't be (there)'
inarte-	inarciiquq 'will lie'	inarningaituq 'won't lie down'
pekte-	pekciiquq 'will work'	pekningaituq 'won't work'

Note that the n is not underlined in pekningaituq. This is due to the spelling convention mentioned in 1.1, note 7: there is no contrast between voiced and voiceless nasals after stops and ll, so voiceless nasals are not underlined after stops and ll.

These postbases, like +taar- and -n'ite-, are tense-status postbases.

Since +ningaite- contains a heavy syllable, the three syllable rule cannot apply to it. The three syllable rule **does** apply to a sequence composed of +ciqe- plus an ending, just as it applies to a sequence composed of -n'ite- plus an ending:

		
maqiciqua	maqiciquten	maqiciquq
'I'll take a banya'	'you'll ...'	'he/she will ...'
		
agayuciqua	agayuciquten	agayuciquq
'I'll go to church'	'you'll ...'	'he/she will ...'

The Alutiiq future, as indicated by these postbases, is quite similar to the English future in meaning, and usually translates as such. However, Alutiiqs traditionally do not attach as much certainty or commitment to statements about the eventual future as do speakers of English. Thus, when an English speaker says he will do something, we tend to take that as a promise; but when an Alutiiq speaker says that he will do something, either in English or Alutiiq, this is not necessarily a promise. What it indicates is willingness to do it, or agreement that it would be a good thing to do: if everything works out all right it will happen, but one should not be surprised or disappointed if it doesn't happen. [Another postbase (-kutar-) is used when a definite commitment has been made and the event is going to occur in the near future.]

8.2. Adverbs of time

The three N[time]\N[time] postbases are

-nra (N[time]\N[time]) 'every N'
+(r)pak (N[time]\N[time]) 'this N; last N, the past N'
~ku (N[time]\N[time]) 'later on this N; next N, the coming N'

The ~ before the k of ~ku indicates that this consonant contracts with the final consonant of the stem:

r- plus ~ku becomes qu
g- plus ~ku becomes ku.

We have seen that time nouns, or nouns referring to a span of time, may combine with tamiin to form time expressions, e.g. unuaq tamiin 'every morning'. These expressions refer to regular recurrence of the time span, and are used with the habitual forms of verbs. For some time nouns, the same meaning can be conveyed by adding the suffix -nra to the time noun; in this case tamiin may also be used, but is superfluous:

Unuaq tamiin taitaartuq.
Unuanra taitaartuq.
Unuanra tamiin taitaartuq.
She comes **every morning**.

Two other suffixes are used with time nouns to form time expressions. Envision each time noun as referring to a portion of a cycle: akgua'aq 'evening', unuk 'night', unuaq 'morning' and erneq 'day' all refer to a specific part of the **daily cycle**; ugnerkaq 'spring', kiak 'summer', uksuaq 'fall, autumn', and uksuq 'winter' all refer to part of the **yearly** cycle. Generally, then, +(r)pak is used for the period of time extending from the last cycle through the present to the immediate future; -ku is used for the period extending from the non-immediate future to the next cycle. We can show this graphically as follows, where X represents a given part of a cycle ('evening', 'night', 'spring', etc.):

```
last X              this X              next X
  |                   |                   |
<------------------------> <--------->
                X+(r)pak    X~ku
```

Forms with +(r)pak can thus be used with past or future forms, but those with -ku will be used only with future forms:

Akgua'arpak maqillriakut. We took a banya this evening.
Akgua'arpak maqiciqukut. We'll take a banya this evening. [It's now evening.]
Akgua'aqu maqiciqukut. We'll take a banya this evening. [It's now morning or afternoon.] Or: We'll take a banya later this evening. [It's now early evening.]

The locative case may be used instead of forms with these suffixes:

Akgua'armi maqillriakut. We took a banya in the evening.
Akgua'armi maqiciqukut. We'll take a banya in the evening.

As mentioned above, forms with -nra are used only with habitual verbs. Note, however, that it is quite permissible in Alutiiq to add past and future endings to the habitual postbase:

Ugnerkanra isu'irsurtaallriakut. We used to hunt seal every spring.
Uksunra taitaarciqukut. We'll come every year.

Examples of time nouns with these postbases:

akgua'aq. evening. (also: yesterday)
    akgua'anra. every evening.
    akgua'arpak. this evening.
    akgua'aqu. later on this evening.

unuk. night. (also: last night)
    ununra. every night.
    unugpak. tonight, last night.
    unuku. later on tonight.

kiak. summer.
kianra. every summer.
kiagpak. this summer, last summer.
kiaku. later on this summer, next summer.

Days of the week are not time nouns and do not take these suffixes. Instead, they usually occur in the locative case.

(Uumi) Maqinermi taiciqua. I'll come (next) Saturday.
(Iciwaq) Maqinermi kugyasillriakut. We seined (last) Saturday.

8.3. Demonstrative adverbs

Each demonstrative pronoun has a corresponding set of demonstrative adverbs. These are formed by adding a special set of local case endings to the demonstrative adverb stem. Although there are some irregularities, the demonstrative adverb stem is usually formed by adding -a- to the demonstrative pronoun stem; for example, ik- plus -a- becomes ika-. If the demonstrative pronoun stem ends in ug-, this is replaced by w in the demonstrative adverb stem; for example, taug- plus -a- becomes tawa-.

The local case endings of the demonstrative adverbs are

locative: -ni
allative: -'ut
ablative: -ken
(perlative: -gun)

In addition, demonstrative adverbs have a special predicative form ending in -'i, as for example gua'i and tawa'i. These are used as non-verbal predicates, as illustrated in 2.7. As discussed in 2.10, this suffix -'i is dropped before enclitics: the bare demonstrative adverb stem occurs instead. Following are the adverb forms of the demonstratives we have introduced so far:

here: gûa-
predicative: gua'i. here (it is).
locative: gûani. (located) here.
allative: gut. (to) here.
ablative: gûaken. from here.

there: tawa-
predicative: tawa'i. there (it is).
locative: tawani. (located) there.
allative: tawa'ut. (to) there.
ablative: tawaken. from there.

over there: ika-
predicative: ika'i. over there (it is).
locative: ikani. (located) over there.
allative: ika'ut. (to) over there.
ablative: ikaken. from over there.

up there: pia-
predicative: pia'i. up there (it is).
locative: piani. (located) up there.
allative: pia'ut. (to) up there.
ablative: piaken. from up there.

down there: kana-
predicative: kana'i. down there (it is).
locative: kanani. (located) down there.
allative: kana'ut. (to) down there.
ablative: kanaken. from down there.

There is a parallel set of interrogative demonstrative adverbs; note the irregular allative form natmen.

where?: na-
predicative: naama? where (is it)?
locative: nani? where at?
allative: natmen? where to?
ablative: naken? where from?

As a rule, for every major syntactic category (i.e. type of word or phrase) there is a corresponding interrogative word:

verb (V): cali- (to do what?)
noun phrase (NP):
    caqiq? (what?)
    kinaq? (who?)
    na- (where?)
qualifier (N[qual]): cakuciq? (what kind?)
numeral (N[num]): qaugcin? (how many?)

The interrogative can be answered by any word or phrase belonging to the syntactic category in question. Thus, for example, a noun phrase is a phrase that can answer the question caqiq? (what?) or kinaq? (who?). If you find it hard to figure out which of the local cases should be used in a given case, ask yourself which of the interrogative demonstrative adverbs is answered: naama? (where is he/she/it? where are they?) nani? (where at?), natmen (where to?), naken? (where from?). Examples:

Nani etaartut? **Where** do they live?
Ikani etaartut. They live **over there**.
Nuniami etaartut. They live **in Old Harbor**.

Natmen ag'uci? **Where** are you guys going (**to**)?
Kana'ut ag'ukut. We're going **down there**.
Kal'unun ag'ukut. We're going **to Karluk**.

Naken tai'uten? **Where** are you coming **from**?
Tawaken taigua. I'm coming **from there**.
Anchorage-mek taigua. I'm coming **from Anchorage**.

8.4. Postural verbs and the stative postbase +nga-

A number of the verbs we have learned so far refer to getting into a certain position or posture, for example "to sit" and "to stand". These are called postural verbs. These verbs also have corresponding stative verb stems, referring to the state of being in the position or posture. Some of these stative forms are irregular, but if the postural verb stem ends in te-, the corresponding stative verb stem is often formed by replacing this te- with +nga-.

Postural	Stative
aqume- to sit down.	aqumga- to be sitting.
nangarte- to stand up.	nangarnga- to be standing.
inarte- to lie down, to go to bed.	inarnga- to be lying, to be in bed.
makte- to get up, to get out of bed.	makta- to be up (and about), to be out of bed.
mit'e- to land.	misnga- to be perched.
puge- to surface, float up.	pugta- to be afloat.

Notice that the postural verbs are a subtype of motion verbs, and take allative or ablative adjuncts. The corresponding stative verbs, on the other hand, are a subtype of descriptive verbs, and take locative adjuncts.

Stuulumi aqumgauq. She is sitting **at the table**.
(i.e. located at the table)
Stuulumen aqumuq. She sat down **at the table**.
(i.e. moving into place at the table)
Stuulumek nangartuq. She stood up **from the table**.

Tawani misngaut. They are perched **there**.
(i.e. located over there)
Tawa'ut mit'ut. They landed **there**.
(i.e. moving into place over there)

8.5. Focused NPs

We saw in 3.7 and 6.4 that the unmarked word order in Alutiiq is subject first, then the other NPs in the predicate, then the verb. However, it is frequently the case that the speaker needs to focus attention on one or the other NP in the sentence. The rule is this: the **focused NP** comes first in the sentence. One of the most common ways focus comes into play concerns interrogative-word questions. In interrogative-word questions, the NP containing the interrogative word is usually focused. Furthermore, the answer to the NP containing the interrogative word is also focused. Compare:

Qaku-mi angiciiquten Juneau-men? When will you return to Juneau?
(rather than "Juneau-men qaku angiciiquten?")
Pekyutmi angiciiqua. I'll return on Monday.
(not, for example, *"Juneau-men angiciiqua Pekyutmi.")

It is possible to conceive of situations where you might say Juneau-men qaku angiciiquten?, namely where you had been talking about some other town, or you thought the hearer might have a different destination in mind; you could then put Juneau-men first to alert the hearer to the fact that you were asking about Juneau rather than whatever other place he expected you to refer to.

In general, then, focusing of a NP is used to alert the hearer to the fact that you are asking something about the NP, contrasting the NP with something else, or substituting the NP for something else as the topic of conversation.

As pointed out in 3.1, the personal pronouns are usually omitted except when the pronoun is focused, in equational sentences, and in other cases where the person and number of the pronoun is not marked on the verb (or some other inflected word). Therefore, if sentence begins with a pronoun agreeing with the subject of the verb, you can assume this pronoun is focused.

8.6. Song

Unuku unuku taiciquanga
caayungcugmek tailluanga.
Sapakat sapakat qilukatnga
a'ularauyukllua pin'illkianga.

(Later on) tonight I will come,
bringing a little tea with me.
If the dogs bark at me,
don't think I'm a bigfoot and do me in.

Vocabulary for Unit 8

allakaq. (N[qual]) different (one).
angituq. returned. went back, went home. came back, came home.
cakuciq. (N[qual]) what kind? which kind?
igartuq. is writing. [takes obl. obj., NP[compar]]
iqlluuq. is lying, cheating, doing it without knowing how,
doing it the wrong way.
kaminaq. heating stove, banya stove.
keneq. fire.
kugyasiq, kug’asiq. seine net.
kugyasirtuq, **kug’asir**tuq. is seining.
kugyasirta, kug’asirta. seiner (person or boat).
liituq. is learning. [takes obl. obj., NP[compar]]
naaqiuq. is reading. [takes obl. obj., NP[compar]]
nutaʳaq. (N[qual]) new (one).
paankaaq. can.
plitaaq. cooking stove.
qạm’uq. is extinguished.
qangirllaq. (N[qual]) old (one).
[This refers to an object, not a person or mammal.
An old person or mammal is referred to as angun or kạiwiq.]
taq’uq. is done, finished (of something that is being prepared,
such as food or drink).
taqutuq. is done, finished (of a person preparing something).
teng’uq. flew away.
tengaurtuq. is flying (around, along).
tengausqaq. airplane.
uqnartuq. is hot
(such that it burns or causes a burning sensation).
uswiiillraʳaq* or usiiillraʳaq*. child. us(w)iillraraat. children.
wiilkaaq. fork.

Time nouns

- erneq. day.
  - ertii. every day.
  - ernerpak. today.
  - ernequ. later on today.
- akguaʳaq*. evening. (also: yesterday)
  - akgua'anra. every evening.
  - akgua'arpak. this evening.
  - akgua'aqu. later on this evening.
- unuk. night. (also: last night)
  - ununra. every night.
  - unugpak. (earlier) tonight, last night.
  - unuku. later on tonight.
- unuaq. morning.
  - unuanra. every morning.
  - unuarpak. this morning.
  - (unuaqu. tomorrow.)

ugnerkaq. spring.
kiak. summer.
uksuaq. fall, autumn.
uksuq. winter, year.

Other time expressions

yaatiini. day before yesterday.
akgua'aq. yesterday.
ernerpak. today.
unuaqu. tomorrow.
yaatiiku. day after tomorrow.

qaku? when (in the future)?
qakunguaqu. sometime (in the future).
atakuu, taakuu. in a (little) while, in a few minutes.
atakuunguaqu, taakuunguaqu. later on.
uumi. this (coming) time. next time.
    uumi Agayunermi. this (coming) Sunday. next Sunday.

UNIT 9

9.1. Conjunctive verb mood

So far all verb forms have been in the indicative verb mood, which is used for making statements, yes/no questions, and optionally also for interrogative-word questions. We will now introduce another mood, the conjunctive. Before considering its use, we will present the endings. As with the past indicative, the conjunctive has special affirmative and negative forms.

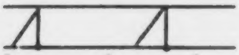
Subject	Affirmative	Negative
1.sg.	+lua(nga)	+(g)kunii(nga)
1.pl.	+luta	+(g)kunata
1.du.	+lunuk	+(g)kunanuk
2.sg.	+luten	+(g)kunak
2.pl.	+luci	+(g)kunaci
2.du.	+lutek	+(g)kunatek
3.sg.	+luni	+(g)kunani
3.pl.	+luteng	+(g)kunateng
3.du.	+lutek	+(g)kunatek

As you can see, the marker for the affirmative conjunctive is +lu-, and for the negative conjunctive, +(g)kuna-. Except for the special contraction in the 1.sg. ending, and the irregular 2.sg. ending -k in the negative conjunctive, the endings of the first and second persons are the familiar ones. The third person, however, has a new set of endings, one which we will see more of later on.

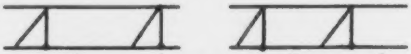
With the negative forms, the g in parentheses is added after a stem-final vowel, just like the r in +(r)pakaq, etc. With the affirmative forms, stem-final e is dropped, as with other +CV suffixes, and stem-final te is replaced by ll. With stems ending in ke and qe, when stem-final e is dropped, and the l of the suffix comes in contact with the k or q of the stem, the l is devoiced to ll; l is also devoiced after the stems qure- 'to urinate', aure- 'to crawl', kege- 'to bite', and tanger- 'to see'. Devoicing also applies to adding-type suffixes beginning with y and nasals; see further 10.2 and 10.5.

Stem	Affirmative conjunctive	Negative conjunctive
atur-	aturluni 'singing'	aturkunani 'not singing'
piicag-	piicagluni 'wanting'	piicagkunani 'not wanting'
naaqi-	naaqiluni 'reading'	naaqigkunani 'not reading'
age-	agluni 'going'	agegkunani 'not going'
nere-	nerluni 'eating'	neregkunani 'not eating'
take-	taklluni 'being long'	takegkunani 'not being long'
taqe-	taqlluni 'getting done'	taqegkunani 'not getting done'
qure-	qurlluni 'urinating'	quregkunani 'not urinating'
tanger-	tangerlluni 'seeing'	tangerkunani 'not seeing'
inarte-	inarlluni 'lying down'	inartegkunani 'not lying down'

The mood marker for the affirmative conjunctive is +lu-, and for the negative conjunctive, it is +(g)kuna-. There is a dialectal difference within Kodiak as to how to treat this +(g)kuna- prosodically. On one hand, because it is part of the ending, some people treat it as part of the final stress-postponing part of the word (see the first agegkunani below). On the other hand, because it has two light syllables, some people treat it like an iambic postbase (see the second agegkunani).



inartegkunani



agegkunani or agegkunani

As with the past tense, the affirmative conjunctive has special forms for privative descriptive verbs ending in te, as well as piite-. For these verbs, the affirmative conjunctive is formed by replacing the stem-final te with the special mood marker +na-, and adding the person/number endings of the negative conjunctive. So with piite-, for example, the affirmative conjunctive forms are

	1.	2.	3.
sg.	piinii(nga)	piinak	piinani
pl.	piinata	piinaci	piinateng
du.	piinanuk	piinatek	piinatek

The verb et'e- lacks the expected conjunctive forms with +na-. Instead we get 3.sg. ell'uni (rather than *en'ani).

The conjunctive mood has several uses. The original and most typical of these is in complex sentences, to indicate a dependent clause conjoined to the main clause. A complex sentence is formed by adding together two or more simple sentences, which are said to be the clauses of the complex sentence. A dependent clause is one which cannot stand by itself, but depends on the rest of the sentence to give it context. The main clause, on the other hand, is a grammatically complete sentence. In other words, the main clause is the head of a complex sentence, and the dependent clauses are its adjuncts.

To take an English example, in the complex sentence "Coming inside, he took off his coat", the first part ("coming inside") is a dependent clause, and the second part ("he took off his coat") is the main clause. In the equivalent Alutiiq construction, the dependent clause is in the conjunctive mood, and the main clause is in the declarative mood.

(1) **Iterluni** atkuill'ia. **Coming inside,** he took off his coat.
or in colloquial English **He came inside and** took off his coat.

(2) **Sun'amen aiwiluteng** lá gkaartelliit. **Going by boat to Kodiak,** they went to the store. or **They went to Kodiak and** went to the store.

(3) **Unuami maklluanga atkugluanga** anell'ianga. **In the morning I got up and put on my clothes and** went out.

The conjunctive mood is not differentiated for tense. This is because the dependent clause in the conjunctive mood is understood to refer to the same tense as the main clause. Another way of saying this is that it **inherits** the tense of the main clause. Thus in (4), the two conjunctive clauses are interpreted as referring to the future, since the main verb does.

(4) **Unuami maklluanga atkugluanga** anciqua. **In the morning I will get up and put on my clothes** and go out.

9.1.1. Tightly conjoined clauses

The conjunctive mood may conjoin clauses tightly or loosely. Tightly conjoined clauses in the conjunctive mood actually modify the following clause, in much the same way as a qualifier modifies the head noun of a NP. A very important feature of tightly conjoined clauses is that they **must have the same subject as the verb of the clause they modify**. Furthermore, they usually come before the clause they modify.

Tightly conjoined clauses often specify the manner in which the action of the following verb is performed, and may translate as adverbs or adverbial clauses in English.

(5) **Asirluten** Alutiite̱stun niu'ataartuten. You speak Alutiiq **well**. (lit., being good, you speak Alutiiq.)

(6) **Cukainani** kuingtuq. She is walking **slowly**.
(lit., being slow, she is walking.)

(7) **Qecenglutek** ite̲ll'iik. They 2 came **running** in.
(*lit.*, running, they 2 came in.)

Although it is sometimes useful to translate a tightly conjoined clause with an English gerundive clause (that is, using the *-ing* form of the verb), the two constructions are by no means equivalent. In particular, the English gerundive may be used where there is a causal relationship between the clauses, whereas the Alutiiq uses a different dependent mood to express this. For example, (8) is **not** equivalent to English "Being hungry, they hunted", which would usually be taken to imply that hunger was the cause of their hunting. Rather, (8) simply means that their hunting was done on empty stomachs.

(8) Kaiglutek pisullriik. They hunted in a state of hunger.

In English, it is easy to load up a clause with adjunct phrases (noun phrases and prepositional phrases) that modify the verb or verb phrase. In Alutiiq, a clause rarely has more than one NP adjunct. It is stylistically preferable to use tightly conjoined clauses to "host" the NP adjuncts. Sometimes, too, the only way to translate an English prepositional phrase is with a tightly conjoined clause.

(9) **Nuniamek aularnirluta** Sun'amen aiwillriakut. We went (by boat) **from Old Harbor** to Kodiak. (lit., starting from Old Harbor, we went to Kodiak.)

(10) **Mal'ugnek qawartarlunuk** Maasaankuni elngukuk. We 2 stayed with Masha and her family **for two nights**. (*lit.*, spending two nights, we 2 stayed at Masha and them's.)

(11) **Staamanek casaarllua** pektellianga. I worked **for four hours**. (*lit.*, spending four hours, I worked.)

A tightly conjoined clause may also translate as an infinitive clause in

English.

(12) **Qursaturlutek** llaamen an'uk. They 2 went outside **to urinate.** (lit., going to urinate, they went out [to] outside.)

(13) Taumi maama **qenaluni** aularnillria. Then mom started **to get sick**. (lit., then mom, getting sick, started.)

A negative conjoined clause often translates in English as "without V-ing".

(14) **Neregkunata** qulnek casaarlluta pekte̱llriakut. We worked for ten hours **without eating**.

We will see many similar uses of the conjunctive mood in tightly conjoined clauses as we learn more verbal endings and postbases.

9.1.2. Loosely conjoined clauses

In narrative or story-telling, it is very common to begin with one or more clause in the indicative mood, and then switch to the conjunctive mood for most of the rest of the narrative, occasionally throwing in an indicative form here and there. Here is a short sample written by Tom Phillips of Perryville:

(15) Pitřuuk Kamitalumen iqallugsullria, mal'ugnek pill'uni. Nutaan angilluni. Aaniin pitallrek kenirlukek.
Peter went fishing to Kamitaluq and caught two [fish]. Then he went home. His mother cooked the 2 [fish] he caught.

The above example illustrates loose conjunction (as do examples 1-4). Here the dependent clauses are loosely linked to the rest of the sentence. In fact, the writer did not consider the last two clauses to be part of the same sentence as the main verb, but treated them as separate sentences. A loosely conjoined clause need not have same subject as the other clauses in the sentence. In (15), Pitřuuk is the subject of the first three clauses, but his mother is the subject of the last clause.

Loosely conjoined clauses are used either to describe a series of events that follow each other in time, as in (15), or to "set the scene" by giving pieces of background information that are not related to each other temporally, but rather by virtue of the fact that they fit together in building the description of the scene, as in (16).

(16) Awa'i anluta. Lla asirluni, pe̱rillpiarluni, macarluni. Then we went outside. The weather was nice, there was not a cloud in sight, and the sun was shining.

Examples (15) and (16) show that it is possible to have one or more clauses in the conjunctive without any main clause in the indicative. It is also possible for this to happen in an isolated utterance, outside a narrative. In this case the conjunctive clause sounds like talking to oneself or making an offhand comment, rather than a definite statement. For example, on seeing a cute baby you might say

(17) Na-aa'i ineqsunarluni! My, but she's cute!

rather than ineqsunartuq.

Another case where the conjunctive mood is used in an isolated utterance is discussed next.

9.1.3. Use of the conjunctive to make requests

The conjunctive is also used to make requests or suggestions that someone do something. The second person forms are used to make requests of another person:

Aqumluten. Sit down. [addressed to one person]
Aqumlutek. Sit down. [addressed to two people]
Aqumluci. Sit down. [addressed to more than two]

These differ from ordinary imperatives like aqumi 'sit down!' in that they are less direct and more like offhand remarks. They seem to imply that there is something unspoken to the request, like "Sit down and (we'll talk or have tea or something)." I don't believe that they are necessarily more polite than ordinary imperatives, though.

The negative conjunctive forms may also be used for negative requests, e.g. aqumegkunak 'don't sit down.'

9.1.4. The nominal use of the conjunctive

The third person singular of the conjunctive mood is also used as a kind of verbal noun, very much like the English gerundive (-ing) form of the verb.

Lisngaluni asirtuq. It's good **to be educated.**

This construction appears to be a modern innovation, and one with limited potential. All examples I know of are just like this one, with the 3sg. conjunctive form functioning as the subject of a descriptive verb.

9.2. The first person non-singular hortative forms

The first person non-singular hortative forms, translating in English with "let's V!", are similar to the conjunctive forms, but they have i instead of u:

1.pl. +**lita**
1.du. +**linuk**

Aglita! Let's go!
Aglinuk! Let's go! (2)

9.3. The "empty" stem pi-

The stem pi- is sometimes called the "empty" stem because it has practically no meaning of its own, but takes its meaning from the words and suffixes used with it. As a noun, we have seen this stem used with N\V[intr] postbases, the result being a noun with virtually the same meaning as the postbase, for example, pisur- 'to hunt', from pi- plus +(r)sur- 'to hunt N' (see 4.5).

This stem is also used as a verb. With an NP[all] adjunct, it translates "to go". With an NP[compar] adjunct, it translates either "to do" or "to say". With a quote, it translates "to say". Compare, for example

Sun'amen pillriik. They 2 went to Kodiak.
Tawaten pillria. He did that. He said that.
(compare colloquial English "He went like that.")

9.4. Songs

Nerestenkuk ingqiq-llu

1 Neresta taarimallria,
2 taarirpaguarluni;
3 ingqim yaamaat ciqiluki;
4 neresta atunguaruarluni.

The louse whisked himself;
he whisked loud and long;
the nit threw water on the rocks,
and the louse sang to his little self.

Notes:
1. neresta 'louse', +(i/u)ma- 'non-witnessed'
2. +(r)paguar- 'to V ostentatiously; to make a show of V-ing'
3. ingqiq 'louse', yaamaq* 'rock', ciqi- 'to throw water on'
4. -nguar- 'for the little one to V', +(r)uar- 'to pretend to V; to V according to one's whim, just for the heck of it, for fun'

Maamankuk taata-llu

1 Maamankuk taata-llu alutakun akullutek;
2 Kuukuwak taiwagta akutallrak piturluku.

Mom and dad made akutaq in a bowl;
then Kuukuwak came and ate their akutaq.

Notes:
1. alutaq 'bowl', akute- 'to make akutaq'
2. taiwagta 'and then he came', akutallrak 'what was (originally) their akutaq'.

Vocabulary for Unit 9

akutaq. akutaq.
apaa. grandfather.
atkuut. coat, clothing (also atkuk for 'coat')
  atkugtuq. is putting his clothes/coat on.
  atkuirtuq. is taking his clothes/coat off.
aularnirtuq. is starting. started.
  [takes obl. obj. or tightly conjoined clause]
aulairtuq. is ceasing. ceased, stopped.
  [This refers to stopping an action, not stopping motion.]
casaaq. hour.
  casaartuq. is spending an hour. {takes NP[num, abl]}
  casaat. clock, watch.
castun? (also casten? or cesten?) how?
emaa. grandmother.
gûaten. (NP[compar]) like this.
  gûaten piuq. did this. said this. went like this.
legta. den.
maama. mom.
piuq. (1) went (somewhere: {takes NP[all]})
  (2) did, said (this or that: {takes NP[compar]})
    [Compare English "went like this/that" =
    "did this/that" or "said this/that"]
qawartartuq. is spending the night. {takes NP[num, abl]}
qayu? What (did you say, want)?
  Qayu pia? What is he/she doing? What did he/she say?
    What happened to him/her?
qinertuq. looked, peered, peeked (through an opening,
  especially into a house or other enclosure)
sarsauq. is having something hot to drink. is having tea.
taariuq. whisks self (in the banya).
taata. dad.
tawaken. after that.

tawaten. like that.
    tawaten piuq. did that. said that. went like that.
taumi. then.
yaamaq*. stone, rock.
    yaamaat. stones, rocks.

Days of the week

Pekyun. Monday.
    Pektut. It is Monday. (lit., they are working.)
Aipi'in. Tuesday.
    Aipiriut. It is Tuesday.
Pinga'i'in. Wednesday.
    Pinga'iriut. It is Wednesday.
Staami'in. Thursday.
    Staamiriut. It is Thursday.
Tallimi'in. Friday.
    Tallimiriut. It is Friday.
Maqineq. Saturday, the eve of a Feast Day.
    Maqiut. It is Saturday or the eve of a Feast Day.
    (lit., they are taking banyas.)
Agayuneq. Sunday, a Feast Day.
    Agayuut. It is Sunday or a Feast Day.
    (lit., they are going to church.)

Text for Unit 9

Translate the following story into English in two stages. First do an interlinear (word-by-word) translation: copy the story (leaving 3 spaces between lines of Alutiiq) and then under each word, write the literal English translation for it. Then do a free (not word-by-word) translation.

You need to know that +(u/i)ma- before the ending indicates NON-WITNESSED, but don't translate it.

QUIRINI QAWALLEQ

Sergius Moonin-rem quli'anguallra.
Jeff Leer-rem igarluku Alutiitestun.

1 Cali allamek quli'anguarciqua:
2 tan'uraq ec'imallria quirini.

3 Tan'uraq una natmen ima agumallria pisuryaturluni,
4 awa'i pellaluni.
5 Nutaan qinerlluku legtem ilua,
6 suuget qamani amlerlluteng.
7 Cunang-ruq quirit.
8 Legtemen iterluni,
9 quirit neregkwarluku.
10 Quirit ila'arluki uksiluni,
11 ell'uni caligkunani.

12 Ugnerkami cami quirit antaartut, anumaluni.
13 Taumi akia giinaan man'a castun kinguut nerellrat ell'uni,
14 akia asingia'arluni.

15 Nunaminun agluni, tekilluni.
16 Suuget apcimaluku uksusinaq nangluku nani elnguq.
17 Giinaan akia tangerniinani, pupiguangqerlluni,
18 man'a inarngawillra allrak legtem iluani,
19 caqit kinguut nerellrat allrak, nallu'aqa.
20 Quli'angua'umaluni taumi nani elnguq uksuq nangluku,
21 quli'anguilluki quirinek.

22 Awa'i iqukllituq.

Notes:

Title. -lleq. one who V-ed.

1. quli'anguarluni. telling (a story).
        quli'anguilluku. telling him (a story).
2. quiriq. marmot.
3. ima. (indicates uncertainty)
        natmen ima. somewhere or other.
4. awa'i. now, then.
    pellaluni. getting lost.
5. legtem ilua. inside of den.
6. qamani. in there [locative]
7. cunang(-ruq). actually, in reality.
9. -gkwar- to cause to V.
10. ila'arluku. join him. go/stay with him.
    uksiluni. spending the winter.
13. akia. one side of it.
    giinaq. face.
        akia giinaan one side of his face.
    man'a. this (area).
    kinguk. bug, insect.
    nerellrat. what they had eaten.
15. -minun. to his/her (own) N
16. aplluku. asking him.
    nangluku. (using) all of it.
17. -nir- to be nice to V.
        -niite- not to be nice to V.
    tangerniinani. to be ugly.
18. pupiguaq. pimple.
    -ngqerte- to have N.
18. -willra. place he had been V-ing.
19. nallu'aqa. I don't know (it).
22. iqukllilluni. reaching the end.

UNIT 10

10.1. V\V postbases: the assimilating type

Here we will introduce two more tense-status postbases and two modifying postbases:

~kutar- (V\V) 'to be going to V, to be about to V' (immediate future)
~ksaite- (V\V) 'to have not (yet) V-ed'

~qainar- (V\V) 'just to V; only to V; to V, that's all'
~raar- (V\V) 'to V first (before doing something else)'

The first is an iambic postbase.

These postbases belong to a joining type we have not seen yet: the assimilating type. If there is a stem final consonant, the first consonant of the suffix combines with the stem-final consonant as follows:

g- plus ~k > k   g- plus ~q > k   g- plus ~r > g
r- plus ~k > q   r- plus ~q > q   r- plus ~r > r

Stem-final e is dropped before assimilating-type postbases that begin with a single consonant in two cases: (1) if the stem is (C)VCe-, then prosodic rule 2b applies, and the e is dropped; (2) if the stem ends in a voiced consonant (l, m, n, ng) plus e, the e is dropped. However, stem-final e never drops before ~ksaite- since this begins with two consonants; if the e were dropped, a three-consonant cluster would result, and this is not permitted.

Examples:

piicag- to want some, to ask for some.
piicakutartuq. is going to ask for some.
piicaksaituq. hasn't (yet) asked for some.
piicakainartuq. is just asking for some (that's all).
piicagaartuq. is asking for some first.

atur- to sing.
atuqutartuq. is going to sing.
atuqsaituq. hasn't (yet) sung.
atuqainartuq. is just singing (that's all).
aturaartuq. is singing first.

agayu- to go to church.
agayukutartuq. is going to go to church.
agayuksaituq. hasn't (yet) gone to church.
agayuqainartuq. is just going to church (that's all).
agayuraartuq. is going to church first.

nere- to eat.
nerkutartuq. is going to eat.
nereksaituq. hasn't (yet) eaten.
nerqainartuq. is just eating (that's all).
neraartuq. is eating first. (= ner'raartuq)

aqume- to sit down.
aqumkutartuq. is going to sit down.
aqumeksaituq. hasn't (yet) sat down.
aqumqainartuq. just sat down (that's all).
aqumraartuq. sat down first.

tekite- to arrive.
    tekitekutartuq. is going to arrive.
    tekiteksaituq. hasn't (yet) arrived.
    tekiteqainartuq. just arrived (that's all).
    tekiteraartuq. arrived first.

The postbase ~kutar- expresses the immediate future. Unlike the ordinary future (with +ciqe-), the immediate future indicates that the activity has passed the planning stage: the plan of action has been definitely decided and is about to be set in motion. So the immediate future doesn't have the same sense of contingency that the regular future does.

The postbase ~qainar- usually translates best as "just" or "only" in English. For example, nerqainartua translates "I'm just eating" in the following sense: "all I'm doing is eating" or "the only thing I'm doing is eating" or "I'm eating, that's all." Be careful not to confuse this with another sense of "just" in English: with the past tense, it can mean "just now", in which case it translates with nutaan and the non-past in Alutiiq. Both the following sentences could translate "I just arrived" in English:

Tekiteqainartua. I just arrived (that's all).
Nutaan tekitua. I just (now) arrived.

Examples of the postbase ~raar-:

Neraarciqua. I'll eat first (before doing something else).
Ermigaarluten nerluten. Wash your hands (first) and then eat.
    (Compare: Ermigluten nerluten. Wash your hands and eat.)
Sarsaraarlunuk niu'allriakuk. We 2 had tea and then talked.
    (Compare: Sarsalunuk niu'allriakuk. We 2 had tea and talked.)

As the last two examples show, putting ~raar- on a tightly conjoined verb in the subordinative specifies that this action is done **before** the action of the main verb. For example, in sarsalunuk niu'allriakuk both actions could have been done at the same time, but in sarsaraarlunuk niu'allriakuk the tea-drinking was done first, followed by the talking.

10.2. V\V postbases: +y

+yug- (V\V) 'to want to V'
+yar- (V\V) 'to undertake V-ing; to have a go at V-ing; to take a V; to go (to a prearranged place) to V'
+yatur- or +yartur- (V\V) 'to go (somewhere indefinite) to V; to go V-ing'

The last is an iambic postbase.

Since these are +CV, stem-final e is dropped before them. The postbase-initial +y combines with stem-final te, yielding c; Like +l (see 9.1), this +y is devoiced to s after stems ending in ke or qe, and after the stems qure-, aure-, kege-, and tanger-. Examples:

atur- to sing.
    aturyugtuq. wants to sing.
    aturyartuq. is having a go at singing. is going (to a prearranged place) to sing.
    aturyaturtuq. is going (in order) to sing.

maqi- to take a banya.
    maqiyugtuq. wants to take a banya.
    maqiyartuq. is going (to a prearranged place) to take a banya.
    maqiyaturtuq. is going (somewhere) to take a banya.

nere- to eat.
    neryugtuq. wants to eat.
    neryartuq. is eating a meal. is going (to a prearranged place) to eat.
    neryaturtuq. is going (somewhere) to eat.

pekte- to work.
  pekcugtuq. wants to work.
  pekcartuq. is having a go at working. is going (to a prearranged place) to work.
  pekcaturtuq. is going (somewhere) to work.

tange̲r- to see.
  tange̲rsugluku. wants to see it.
  tange̲rsarluku. is trying/going to get a look at it.
  tange̲rsaturluku. is going (somewhere) to see it.

The postbase +yar-, although quite useful in Alutiiq, does not have an exact English equivalent. It has two related meanings. One is "to undertake" or "to have a go at" or (loosely) "to try" the action. For example, from tut'e- 'to step' we get tuc'ar- 'to take a step', and from nuteg- 'to shoot' we get nutegyar- 'to take a shot (at)'. The second meaning, which it shares with +yatur-, is "to go" to do an activity. Use of +yar- implies that the trip has been prearranged, typically by invitation, and that the destination is predetermined: for example, going to have tea, going to eat at someone's house, going to take a banya. In contrast, +yatur- is used where there is no prearrangement or where the destination is not predetermined: for example, going to hunt, going to work, going to relieve oneself. This postbase often translates "to go V-ing".

Note also the use of a verb with +yatur- in the conjunctive mood translating as a to-clause in English.

Wamyaturlutek anell'iik. They 2 went out **to play**.
  (lit., going to play, they 2 went out.)

The variant +yartur- is less common than +yatur-; however, only +yartur- can occur in the interrogative form cayartur- 'to go (in order to) do what?'

Cayarturtuci? What are you guys going (there) to do?
Cayarturluten kula'irtuten? **What** are you paying a visit **for**?
(lit. going to do what, you are visiting?)

Note: Be careful not to confuse the two uses of English "to go to V". This may denote actually going somewhere, in which case it is to be translated with Alutiiq +yar- or +yatur-. But in the English progressive (that is, "am/is/are going to V"), it usually indicates the immediate future, in which case it is to be translated with -kutar-. Thus, for example, "I'm going to lie down" has two possible translations: inarcaturtua--that is, "I'm going (to bed or somewhere) in order to lie down"--and inartekutartua--that is, "in the immediate future I'm going to lie down".

10.3. The transitive conjunctive

At this point we will introduce the transitive conjunctive endings, since they are identical with the intransitive conjunctive endings except in the third person. However, the transitive conjunctive endings indicate the person and number of the **direct object** of the VP rather than the subject of the S. The third person transitive conjunctive endings are

	Affirmative	Negative
3.sg.	**+luku**	**+(g)kunaku**
3.pl.	**+luki**	**+(g)kunaki**
3.du.	**+lukek**	**+(g)kunakek**

The direct object of a transitive VP occurs in the absolutive case--that is, the plain or unmarked case, the same case used for the subject of an intransitive S. The ending of the transitive verb must agree in number with the direct object.

Nutek tuuluku anellrianga. **I took the rifle and** went outside.
Nutget tuuluki anellrianga. **I took the rifles and** went outside.

Nutgek tuulukek anellrianga. **I took the 2 rifles and** went outside.

If the object is first or second person, the endings used are identical with the intransitive ending, but they give the person and number of the **direct object** rather than the subject.

Tangerkuniinga anellriik. They 2 went out **without seeing me.**

The subject of the transitive VP occurs in the relative case. Since this case has not been introduced so far, we must avoid subjects of transitive VPs. However, with the conjunctive mood this is not too much of a handicap, for the following reason.

Recall that tightly conjoined clauses must share the same subject. If this subject is an **overt NP** (that is, an NP that consists of one or more words and not just an ending on the verb), then it is only mentioned once, typically before the first VP. If the verb of the main clause is intransitive, the subject may be in the absolutive case, even though the verb of the dependent clause is transitive.

Susy **kuskaq tuumiaqlluku** itgllria. Susy came in **carrying the cat**.
Kasaakaq **amiik patuluku** ciqlluamen agellria. The Russian **closed the door and** went to the smokehouse.

Remark: I believe that the relative case may also be used in this construction; it may even be preferred.

10.4. The enclitic -llu

The enclitic -llu can be attached to a verb form in the conjunctive mood, where it translates something like 'also' or 'too'.

10.5. Devoicing of +C postbases

We are now ready to sum up what we have learned about +C type suffixes. First, stem-final e is dropped before these suffixes. Then, after stems ending in ke- or qe-, and after the stems qure-, aure-, kege-, and tanger-, the voiced consonants (w, y, l, n, ng) are devoiced (to gû, s, ll, n, ng). In most cases, these consonants also contract with stem-final te- to yield these same devoiced consonants, except that te- plus +y yields c rather than s. Finally, stem-final te- drops after suffixes beginning with +t, and contracts with +ciqe-, yielding +ciiqe-.

This information is summed up in the following chart:

	after ke-, qe-, etc.	contracted with te-
+w	gû	gû
+y	s	c
+l	ll	ll
+n	n	n
+ng	ng	ng
+t	t	t
+ciqe-	ciqe-	ciiqe-

10.6. Time nouns with +(r)te-

The incorporating suffix +(r)te- (N\V[intr]), which we saw earlier with the meaning 'to kill, catch N', is also attached to certain time nouns that form NPs with numeral qualifiers. The numeral qualifier, as we have seen in 4.4, occurs in the ablative case. The resulting verb usually occurs in the conjunctive mood, and translates in English as a time expression that denotes the number of time units devoted to an activity, often with "for".

minutaq. minute.
Tallimanek minutarlluten piiciiquten? You'll be gone (for) five minutes? (lit. "Taking five minutes, you'll be gone.")
casaaq. hour.
Mal'ugnek casaarllutek kuimartuk. They 2 have been swimming for two hours.
maqineq. week.
Allrilumek maqinerlluanga elngua. I was there (for) one week.
uksuq. year.
Qaugcinek uksurtutek Nuniami? How many years have you been in Old Harbor?

As you can see from these examples, the plain non-past generally translates as the English present perfect progressive ("have/has been V-ing").

Note also that this postbase is not added to erneq 'day' or unuk 'night'. Instead, the verb qawartar- 'to overnight' is used. In Alutiiq, one counts the number of nights spent, rather than the number of days.

10.7. Verbs that take NP[all] adjuncts

Some verbs take NP adjuncts in the allative case where we would expect, by comparison with English and other European languages, the locative case instead. These are verbs of getting stuck, lost, left behind, or forgotten.

Tawa'ut pe̱llaluku. He lost it **over there**.
Englumen unilluku. She left it **at the house**.
Tuuřamen nalluya'ulluku. They forgot it **in the skiff**.

10.8. The citation form of verbs in the vocabularies

From now on in the vocabularies, verbs will be cited in the conjunctive mood. The stem of the verb can be deduced from the conjunctive mood form according to the following rules:

1. If the conjunctive ending begins with ll, then
    a. if k or q precedes the ending, the stem ends in ke or qe.
    b. otherwise, the stem ends in te-.

2. If the conjunctive ending begins with l, then
    a. if a consonant other than g or r precedes the ending, the stem ends in that consonant plus e.
    b. if what precedes the ending ends in a vowel, g, or r, then it is the stem.

Exceptions to these rules will be indicated by giving the stem. The stem will also be given where the verb is both intransitive and transitive.

Vocabulary for Unit 10

alarlluni. to make a mistake.
apte-
  aplluni. to ask.
  aplluku. to ask him.
aqgûaluku. to go and get it, fetch it. {takes NP[all}
aterluni. to go out (toward open water or out to a boat from shore)
aurlluni (stem aure-, with optional fricative devoicing: see 10.5). to crawl.
  [in some dialects also pangalegluni.]
awa'i. now, already. (in a narrative also:) then, so (then).
culurlluni. to go ashore.
eke-
  eklluni. to get in. {takes NP[all]}
  eklluku. to put it in. {takes NP[all]}
ingriq, ing^{r}iq. mountain.
ikugluku. to find it. {takes NP[loc]}
ila^{g}ar-
  ila'arluku. to join him, go or do something with him.
kangi^{r}aq*. bay. (plural: kangiraat)
kenerkaq. piece of wood (especially firewood).
kuimarluni. to swim.
kula'irluni. is visiting. {takes NP[all]}
lliiluku. to put it. {takes NP[all]}
maligte-
  maliglluni. to follow, go along.
  maliglluku. to follow him, go (along) with him.
minutaq. minute.
naglluni. to stop. {takes NP[all]}
  Note: this refers to ceasing motion, stopping still.
nallu-
  nalluluni. not to know. to be ignorant.
  nalluluku. not to know it. to be ignorant of it.
nalluya'ute-

  nalluya'ulluni. to forget.
  nalluya'ulluku. to forget it. {takes NP[all]}
nange-
  nangluni. to be(come) depleted, be all gone, used up.
  nangluteng. for all of them to do something.
  nangluku. to deplete it, use it all up.
  nangluki. to do something to all of them.
nutaan. just now. (in narrative also:) (just) then.
pellaluni. to get lost.
  pellalluku. to lose it {takes NP[all]}
picuuluni. (V[descr]) to be right, correct.
qugtarluni. to get firewood.
takuluku. to go see it. to go (take a) look at it.
  to check on it. {takes NP[all]}
tuuluku. to take or buy it.
ugte-
  uglluni. to get up (on top).
  uglluku. to get up on it.
unilluku. to leave it. {takes NP[all]}
yuu-
  yuuluni. to get out. {takes NP[abl]}
  yuuluku. to take it out, take it off, remove it {takes NP[abl]}

UNIT 11

11.1. The relative case

The two non-oblique noun cases are the **absolutive case** and the **relative case**. The absolutive case was introduced first; this is the unmarked or basic form of the noun. We have seen that the main uses of the absolutive case are for

(a) both the subject NP and the predicate NP of an equational sentence:
  Arnaq. (It's) a woman.
  Una arnaq. This is a woman.
(b) the subject NP of an intransitive sentence:
  Arnaq niugauq. The woman is talking.
(c) the object NP of a transitive VP:
  Arnaq tangersaturluku tagellria. He went up to see the woman.

The main uses of the relative case are for

(d) the subject of a transitive VP:
  Arnam tangersaturluku tagellria. The woman went up to see him.
(e) the possessor of a possessed noun:
  Arnam englua. The woman's house.

Examples (c) and (d) show that it is crucial to be able to differentiate between the absolutive and relative case, especially with transitive verbs. With transitive verbs, the subject takes the relative case and the object takes the absolutive case. We can formulate the rules for transitive sentences as follows:

S > (NP[rel]) VP[trans]

VP[trans] > (NP[obl])* (NP[abs]) V[trans]

In the first rule, NP[rel] is the subject of the transitive sentence. In the second rule, NP[abs] is the object of the transitive VP. As in the intransitive VP, there may be additional oblique case NPs as well. As we have seen, the conjunctive verb endings agree with the object, rather than the subject, of the transitive VP.

The **relative singular** ending is +(e)m. In other words, the relative singular can be formed simply by removing the t of the absolutive plural and replacing it with m. The **relative plural and dual**, on the other hand, are identical in form with the absolutive plural and dual, respectively.

Abs. sing.	Rel. sing.	Abs. plural Rel. plural	Abs. dual Rel. dual
	+(e)m	+(e)t	+(e)k
nuna ’land’	nunam	nunat	nunak
quta ’beach’	qutem	qutet	qutek
arnaq ’woman’	arnam	arnat	arnak
arya’aq ’girl’	aryagaam	aryagaat	aryagaak
cuawak ’blueberry’	cuawiim	cuawiit	cuawiik
kenirwik ’kitchen’	kenirwiim	kenirwiit	kenirwiik
amiik ’door’	amiigem, amii’im	amiiget, amii’it	amiigek, amii’ik
nutek ’rifle’	nutgem	nutget	nutgek
nateq ’floor’	natrem	natret	natrek

The relative singular of demonstratives and kina is formed simply by adding -(e)m to the non-absolutive singular stem. Note also the alternate irregular (and virtually obsolete) relative singular of kina: kia.

kina ’who’	kitum, kia	kinkut	kinkuk
una ’this one’	um	ukut	ukuk

11.2. Positional nouns

For the time being, we will concentrate on the use of the relative case for possessors. The formula for the possessed NP is as follows:

NP > NP[rel] N[poss]

Here NP[rel] is the **possessor** and N[poss] is the **possessed noun**. The possessed noun agrees in number with its possessor. There are two common ways to translate the possessive construction into English. One is to place the possessor followed by "-'s" before the possessed noun: NP's N. The other is to follow the possessed noun with a prepositional phrase consisting of "of" plus the possessor: the N of NP.

One of most frequently encountered type of possessed noun phrases is one where the possessed noun is a special type of noun called a **positional noun**. A positional noun indicates position on or in relation to a something or somebody. Examples:

stuulum qainga. the top (surface) of the table. the table's top.
englum qainga. the top surface of the house. the roof of the house.
    the housetop.

englum ilua. the inside of the house.
asum ilua. the inside of the pot.

englum natra. the floor of the house.
imaam natra. the ocean('s) floor.
asum natra. the (inside) bottom of the pot

asum acia. the underside of the pot.
    the (outside) bottom of the pot.
ing'im acia. the place below the mountain.
englum acia. the place beneath the house.

the underside of the house.
napam acia. the place beneath the tree.

ing'im qulii. the place above the mountain.
englum qulii. the place above the house.

englum ketii. the place out in front of the house
(toward the shore or open area)

englum kelua. the place back behind the house
(away from the shore or open area)

ing'im kangra. the tip, ridge of the mountain. the mountaintop.
englum kangra. the ridge of the house.
napam kangra. the extremities of the tree. the treetop.
kuigem kangra. the head of the river. the river's head.

kuigem painga. the mouth of the river. the river's mouth.

kuigem cenii. the side of the river. the riverbank.
englum cenii. the side of the house.

englum cania. the place next to the house, beside the house.

englum awatii. the periphery of the house.
the place surrounding the house, around the house.

englum llaatii. the place outside the house.

kangiraam akia. the opposite side of the bay.
the place across the bay.

Note that some of these, like qainga 'its top surface', refer only to position **on** the possessor, that is, an actual physical part of the possessor.

Others, like qulii 'the place above it', refer to position **in relation to** the possessor, and not to a physical part of the possessor. Others can refer to either: acia 'its underside, the place under or beneath it' and awatii 'its periphery, the place surrounding it'. For example, asum acia can either be 'the underside of the pot' or 'the area underneath the pot' (e.g. in the fire under the pot).

There is also an interrogative positional noun nate- 'which part or side?; a certain part or side'

kuigem natii 'which part/side of the river?'
englum natii 'which part/side of the house?'

All the above positional nouns have a singular possessor and are themselves singular. We can indicate this by the notation sg.-sg. If the possessor is plural and the noun itself is singular (pl.-sg.), this is indicated by adding -t to the sg.-sg. form:

englut aciat. the place beneath the houses.
(i.e. the area below a group of houses)
englut quliit. the place above the houses.
englut ketiit. the place out in front of the houses.
englut keluat. the place back behind the houses.
englut awatiit. the place surrounding the houses.
englut akuliit. the place among the houses.

Likewise, the du.-sg. form is formed by adding -k to the sg.-sg. form:

engluk aciak. the place beneath the 2 houses.
engluk ketiik. the place out in front of the 2 houses.
engluk akuliik. the place between the 2 houses.

Note that these all refer to position **in relation to** the possessor. It would be nonsensical, for example, to say *englut qaingat 'the top surface of the houses', since each house has its own top surface, its own roof. Instead, both the possessor and the noun itself must be plural (pl.-pl.). This requires a different ending:

englut qaingit. the top surfaces of the houses.
    the housetops. the roofs of the houses.
englut iluit. the insides of the houses.
englut natrit. the floors of the houses.
englut aciit. the places beneath the houses.
    the undersides of the houses.
englut qulait. the places above the houses.
englut ketait. the places out in front of the houses.
englut keluit. the places back behind the houses.
englut kangrit. the ridges of the houses.
englut cenait. the sides of the houses.
englut awatait. the peripheries of the houses.

The du.-du. endings are formed by replacing the -t of the pl.-pl. endings with -k:

engluk qaingik. the 2 roofs of the 2 houses. the 2 housetops.

These endings, which are called the **possessed noun endings**, will be discussed in detail in a later lesson. For now, however, we will simply list them:

sg.-sg. +(ng)a
pl.-sg. +(ng)a-t
du.-sg. +(ng)a-k

pl.-pl. +(ng)i-t
du.-du. +(ng)i-k

The oblique cases of these nouns are formed by adding the forms of the case endings beginning with n to the possessed positional noun: locative -ni, allative -nun, and ablative -nek. The dual suffix -k becomes -g- before these case endings, just as it does in the non-possessed oblique case forms (see 4.1):

englum cania. the place next to the house.
    englum caniani. (located) next to the house.
englut akuliit. the place among the houses.
    englut akuliitni. (located) among the houses.
engluk akuliik. the place between the 2 houses.
    engluk akuliigni. (located) between the 2 houses.

As these examples show, these oblique cases of possessed positional nouns are often translatable by English prepositions.

Stuulum **qaingani** et'uq. It is **on (top of)** the table.
    (lit. on the top surface of the table, the table top)
Englum **qainganun** mit'ellria. It landed **on (top of)** the roof.
    (lit. onto the top surface of the house, the house top)
Stuulum **qainganek** pangalegtuq. She's crawling **off** the table.
    (lit. from the top surface of the table)
Englum **iluani** pektuq. She is working **inside** the house, **in** the house. (lit. at the inside of the house)
Tuuřam **iluanun** eklllinuk. Let's 2 get **inside** the skiff, **into** the skiff.
    (lit. to the inside of the skiff)
Yaasiigem **iluanek** akallriit. They rolled **out of** the box.
    (lit. from the inside of the box)
Englum **natranun** igtellria. It fell **onto the floor of** the house.
Napam-qaa **aciani** aqumgauten. Are you sitting **beneath** the tree?
    (lit. at the place beneath the tree)
Ing'im **quliini** tengaurtuq. It is flying around **above** the mountain.
    (lit. at the place above the mountain)
Ing'im **quliinun** tengellria. It flew **above** the mountain.
    (lit. to the place above the mountain)

Englum **awatiini** nau'ut. They're growing **around** the house.
(lit. at the periphery of the house)
Uswiillraraat **akuliitnun** aqumellria. She sat down **among** the children. (lit. to the place among the children)

The difference between the pl.-sg. and the pl.-pl. forms makes sense logically, but doesn't translate naturally in English.

Ing'it aciatni etaartut. They live beneath the mountains.
(i.e. in a single place beneath a group of mountains)
Ing'it aciitni etaartut. They live beneath the mountains.
(i.e. in several places, each beneath one or more mountains)

11.3. Postbases added to positional nouns

-tmen N[pos]\NP[all] 'towards N[pos], N[pos]-wards'
~qgûa- N[pos]\N 'extreme N[pos], far N[pos], way N[pos]
+war- N[pos]\V[intr] 'to go (further) toward N[pos]'

The postbase -tmen, which occurs also in natmen 'where to?', forms NP adjuncts that indicate direction of motion.

aci- 'place below, beneath'
acitmen 'downward, (toward) down'
qule- 'place above'
quletmen 'upward, (toward) up'
ilu- 'place inside'
ilutmen 'inward, (toward) inside'

The postbase -qgûa- has the unique peculiarity of taking oblique case endings beginning with n, even though the noun formed with it is neither plural nor possessed.

aciqgûa-
    aciqgûani '(located) far below, way down (below)'
    aciqgûanun '(toward) far below, way down (below)'
    aciqgûanek 'from far below, way down (below)'

The postbase +war- will be illustrated in the vocabulary.

11.4. Other postbases

-nge- (N\V[intrans]) 'to get, acquire N'
-ngqe̱rte- (N\V[intrans]) 'to have N; for there to be N'
-lek (N\V[intrans]·V[intrans]\N) 'one that has N'

These are incorporating type postbases. The last postbase is in fact a substitute for the participial form of the first postbase; that is, it replaces -ngqe̱rte-llria, which does not occur. Compare:

Nutgutanguq. He/she got a rifle/rifles.
    (= Nutgutamek/nutgutanek ping'uq.)

Nutgutangqe̱rtuq. He/she has a rifle/rifles.
    (= Nutgutamek/nutgutanek pingqe̱rtuq.)
nutgutalek. one who has a rifle/rifles.

Tallimanek nutgutangqe̱rtuq. He/she has five rifles.
    (= Tallimanek nutgutanek pingqe̱rtuq.)
tallimanek nutgutalek. one who has five rifles.

Nuta'amek-qaa kaařangqe̱rtuten? Do you have a new car?
    (= Nuta'amek-qaa kaařamek pingqe̱rtuten?)
nuta'amek kaařalek. one who has a new car.

The 3.sg. form without an overt NP may translate impersonally: 'there is/are N'

Alagnangqe̱rtuq. He/she/it has berries.
There are berries. ([impersonal] "it" has berries.)

Compare the following two virtually homonymous sentences, the first personal and the second, the more common, impersonal.

Man'a alagnangqe̱rtuq. This area has berries.
Alagnangqe̱rtuq maani. There are berries around here.
([impersonal] "it" has berries around here.)

The postbase -ngqe̱rte- does not occur with negative verb forms. Instead, its negative counterpart +(ng)ite- (N\V[descr]) 'not to have N' is used; this will be introduced in Unit 12.

11.5. Weather verbs with -nge-

Most common weather verbs are impersonal, and have two homonymous stem forms, the first being the plain stem, and the second with suffixed -nge-. This second form is the more commonly used in the Koniag dialect. Some examples have been given in the vocabulary of unit 6.

Stem	with -nge-	gloss
aqllarte-	aqllange-	for the wind to blow.
macar-	macange-	for the sun to shine.
qanir-	qaninge-	for it to snow.
qilag-	qilange-	for it to be cloudy.
qiter-	qitenge-	for it to rain.
umner-	umnenge-	for it to be foggy.

Vocabulary for Unit 11

agnguarluni. to dance.
aprun. trail, path, road, street.
ařapaq. rubber boot, hip boot, shoepack.
asuq. pot.
culuk. feather. hair (on the body or pelt: a single hair)
    culuut. feathers. hair (on the body), fur.
cuyaq. branch. limb (of tree).
iingalaq. eye.
    iingalaruak. (eye)glasses.
itgaq. foot.
    itgat. feet (2 or more).
nanwaq. lake.
napaq. tree. spruce tree.
nunalek. skipper, pilot.
nunanirluni. to be fun.
    nunaniqsaagluni. to have fun.
    nunaniinani. not to be fun; to be boring.
nuyaq. hair (on the head: a single hair).
    nuyat. hair (on the head).
pasmakiiq. shoe.
penaq. cliff, bluff.
penguq. hill.
pingluni (stem: pinge-) to get (some), acquire (some).
    [takes obl. obj.]
qilak. cloud cover; sky; heaven.
    qilagluni, qilangluni. for it to be cloudy.
uqrûik. alder.
umneq. fog.
    umnerluni, umnengluni. for it to be foggy.
unguwaluni, ungwaluni. to be alive.
    ungwallria, unguwallria. animal.

Positional nouns

aci- underside; place under(neath), beneath.
    sg.-sg. acia
    pl.-pl. aciit
    acitmen. down(ward), (toward) below.
    aciqgûa- far below.
    aciwar- to go down.

aki- opposite side, other side; place across.
    sg.-sg. akia
    pl.-pl. akiit
    akitmen. (toward) across.
    akiqgûa- far across.
    akiwar- to go across.

akule- midst; place among, between.
    pl.-sg. akuliit

awate- periphery; place surrounding, around.
    sg.-sg. awatii
    pl.-pl. awatait

cani- place beside, next to, by.
    sg.-sg. cania
    pl.-pl. caniit

cene- side; bank, shore.
    sg.-sg. cenii, cenii
    pl.-pl. cenait, cenait

ilu- inside.
  sg.-sg. ilua
  pl.-pl. iluit
  ilutmen.. (toward) inside; inward.
  iluqgûa- far inside.
  iluwar- to go (farther) inside.

kanger- extremity: tip (of branch, etc.);
  top, ridge (of house, mountain); head (of river)
  sg.-sg. kangra
  pl.-pl. kangrit
  kangetmen. toward the tip, top, ridge, head.
  kangeqgûa- far toward the tip, top, etc..

kelu- place back behind (away from the shore or open area);
  place aside, out of the way.
  sg.-sg. kelua
  pl.-pl. keluit
  kelutmen. (toward) back, out of the way.
  keluqgûa- far back.
  keluwar- to go (further) back; to move aside, out of the way.

kete- place out in front (toward the shore or open area).
  sg.-sg. ketii
  pl.-pl. ketait
  ketetmen. (toward) out in front.
  keteqgûa-, ketgûa- far out in front.
  ketgûar- to go (further) out in front; to take center stage.

llaate- place outside.
  sg.-sg. llaatii
  sg.-pl. llaatait
  llatmen.. (toward) outside.

nater- (inner) surface of the bottom; floor, ground.
sg.-sg. natra
pl.-pl. natrit

pai- mouth, entrance (of river, bay, inlet).
sg.-sg. painga
pl.-pl. paingit
paitmen. toward the mouth, entrance.
paiqgûa- far toward the mouth, entrance.
paiwar- to go (further) toward the mouth, entrance.

qai- top, surface, place on top; (surface of) body.
sg.-sg. qainga
pl.-pl. qaingit
qaitmen. toward the surface.
qaikgûa- far toward the surface.
qaiwar- to go toward the surface; to emerge from the water.

qule- place above, over.
sg.-sg. qulii
pl-pl. qulait
quletmen. upward.
quleqgûa-, qulwa- far above.
qulwar- to go upward. to rise.

nate- which part? where in relation to (something)?
sg.-sg. natii
pl.-pl. natait

TEP'AQ

Sergius Moonin-rem quli'anguallra
Jeff Leer-rem igarluku Qikertarmiute̲stun

Taumi-gûa cali alla,
nuna sungqe̲rcimallria arnarllainarnek,
nukallpia'illpiarluni,
wingqe̲rcimaluteng tep'armek.
Cuyai kepumanillpiarluteng ell'uteng tawaten.
Tamaakut arnat pililuteng
nukallpiat agunaitnek, rruu'arnek,
qaqispiarluki canaluki.
Tamaani tep'aq erte̲gkunaku
awa aiwimaluni.
Qaucgiatni-llu gûani erulluku,
ungwallriat ayuqenilnguut cuyaini tamaani inimaluteng.

Ima-naa pisurteklluku taugna tep'aq,
wiklluku tamarmeng taugkut arnat nunam suu'i.
Nupalkia'inateng, arnarllainaat ec'imallriit,
tep'armek pisurtengqe̲rlluteng.
Tamarmeng wiklluku.
Caqinek nukallpiartarnek,
aunanek, pisursuutnek pilitaa'umaluku.
Taquskuneng tamaa'ut cuyainun
iniurluki lliiluki,
tawaterpiaq erte̲ste̲gkunaku
awa pisuumaluni,
tailluki neqe̲rkaitnek.
Tawa'i taugna wiklluku.

Notes:

Title: tep'aq. driftlog.
1. -gûa. here.
2. +(r)llainaq*. only N, nothing but N
3. +(ng)ite- not to have any N.
   +(ng)illpiar- not to have any N at all.
4. wi (stem wii-). husband.
5. cuyaq. branch.
   sg.-pl. cuyai. its branches.
   keplluku. to cut it (lengthwise).
   kepumaluni. to be cut.
   -n'illpiar- not to V at all.
6. pililuni. to make (some). pililuku. to make (some) for him.
7. agunaq. article of clothing; implement, tool, weapon.
   ruu^{r}aq*. arrow.
8. qaqilluku. to complete it.
   +piar-. to really, truly V.
   canaluku. to make it.
9. erlluni. to dawn.
11. erulluku. to dawn on him/her.
12. ayuqenilnguut. different kinds.
   iniluku. to hang it.
   inimaluni. to be hung.
   iniurluki. to hang them up one by one, here and there.
13. ima-naa. I guess. it would seem (that ...).
   ~ke- to have/use it as N.
14. tamarmeng. all of them.
18. +taq*. that which is characteristic of N.
19. +suun. implement for V-ing.
20. ~kuneng. when they would V.
22. tawaterpiaq. just like that.
   erte̲stegkunaku. before dawn ("not letting it dawn").

24. tailluni. to bring (some). tailluku. to bring (some) for him.
    neqe̲rkaq. food (for future eating).
    pl.-pl. neqe̲rkait. their food (pl.).
25. tawa awa. that's all.

UNIT 12

12.1. The absolutive third person possessed noun suffixes

Possessum:	**singular**	**plural**	**dual**
Possessor:			
3.sg.	+(ng)a	+(ng)i	+(e)k
3.pl.	+(ng)at	+(ng)it	
3.du.	+(ng)ak	+(ng)ik [also: -kek]	

The above chart shows the absolutive forms of suffixes added to possessed nouns with third person possessors. The number of both **possessor** and **possessum** (or possessed noun) is indicated by these endings. The number of the possessum is indicated above the columns, and the number of the possessor is indicated at the left side of the rows. As the chart indicates, there is only one ending for either plural or dual possessor if the possessum is also plural or dual. So, for example, compare the following:

suugem qayaa 'the person's kayak' (sg.-sg.)
suugem qayai 'the person's kayaks' (sg.-pl.)
suugem qayak 'the person's 2 kayaks' (sg.-du.)

suuget qayaat 'the persons' kayak' (pl.-sg.)
suuget qayait 'the persons' kayaks' (pl.-pl. or pl.-du.)

suugek qayaak 'the 2 persons' kayak' (du.-sg.)
suugek qayaik 'the 2 persons' kayaks' (du.-pl. or du.-du.)

The older form of the du.-pl./du. suffix, still at least recognized by some speakers, is -kek. Thus we may also find

suugek qayakek 'the 2 persons' kayaks' (du.-pl. or du.-du.)

An important clue to remembering this system is that the non-singular number marker on the possessor (plural t, dual k) is copied on the possessum. Thus the number of the possessor is indicated twice, once on the possessor and once on the possessum. In other words, then, the possessum must **agree with** its possessor, just as the verb agrees with its subject. The final t or k on the possessum is the agreement marker:

suuget qayaat suuget qayait suugek qayaak suugek qayaik

All these endings except +(e)k and -kek belong to the +(ng)V subtype. The following rules apply:

1. The ng in parentheses appears only when the stem ends in a vowel pair (which is quite rare in Alutiiq).

2. If the stem ends in a single vowel, then it combines with the vowel of the suffix to form a vowel pair. Irregular combinations are:

   Stem-final e or a plus +(ng)a combine as ii.
   Stem-final e plus +(ng)i combine as ai.

3. If the stem ends in a single prime vowel plus g or r, then the g or r is dropped and the stem vowel combines with the vowel of the suffix to form a vowel pair, as in (2). Irregular combination:

   Stem-final ag plus +(ng)a combine as ii.

Note: The dropping of g, r, or ng between single vowels resulting in a vowel pair, as seen in (2) and (3) above, is called **velar dropping**. Velar dropping also occurs with suffixes of the form +(e)C, such as the plural suffix, where Vre and Vge become VV, where V stands for a prime vowel, except for age, which becomes ii.

4. If the stem ends in a vowel pair plus g or r, then the suffix (without the ng) is added. Fricative dropping may then occur with stem-final g, and always occurs with stem-final r.

5. If the stem ends in eg or er, the e drops (except after two consonants) as it does when the +(e)C suffixes, such as the plural, are added, and the suffix (without the ng) is added. Fricative dropping does not usually occur in the Kodiak dialect.

These rules can best be learned by memorizing examples of each type. Following are examples of nouns with the suffixes +(ng)a and +(ng)i.

wi (wii-) ’husband’	wiinga ’her husband	wiingi ’her husbands’
nuna ’land’	nunii ’his land’	nunai ’his lands’
neqa (neqe-) ’food’	neqii ’her food’	neqai ’her foods’
piugta (piugte-) ’dog’	piugtii ’his dog’	piugtai ’his dogs’
qupun ’wedge’	quputii ’her wedge’	quputai ’her wedges’

iqsak	iqsii, iqsaa	iqsai
’hook’	’his hook’	’his hooks’
iqalluk	iqallua	iqallui
’fish’	’his fish (sg.)’	’his fish (pl.)’
yaamaq*	yaamaa	yaamai
’stone’	’her stone’	’her stones’
qayaq	qayaa	qayai
’kayak’	’his kayak’	’his kayaks’
engluq	englua	englui
’house’	’her house’	’her houses’
isu’iq (isu^{r}ir-)	isuria	isurii
’seal’	’her seal’	’her seals’
kaiwiq (kayu^{g}ir-)	kayugia	kayugii
’old woman’	’his old woman’	’his old women’
saqulgaq*,	saqulgaa	saqulgai
saqul’aq* (saqul^{g}ar-*)		
’duck’	’his duck’	’his ducks’
kuik	kui’a, kuiga	kui’i, kuigi
’river’	’its river’	’its rivers’
suk (suug-)	suu’a, suuga,	suu’i, suugi,
’person’	’his person’	’his persons’
ciqlluaq	ciqllua’a	ciqllua’i
’barabara’	’her barabara’	’her barabaras’

nutek	nutga	nutgi
’rifle’	’his rifle’	’his rifles’
puyulek	puyulga	puyulgi
’volcano’	’its volcano’	’its volcanoes’
erneq	ernera, erenra	erneri, erenri
’day’	’its day’	’its days’

Note that the noun nuliq ’wife’ irregularly keeps the stem-final r before this type of suffix. (A few other nouns also have irregular stem alternants before vowels.)

nuliq	nulira	nuliri
’wife’	’his wife’	’his wives’

Finally, after an English word ending in a long vowel or a consonant, a "dummy" r is inserted before these suffixes, as before all suffixes that start with a vowel, including the +(e)C suffixes.

toe	toe-ra	toe-ri	(toe-ret)
	’her toe’	’her toes’	’toes’
rocket	rocket-ra	rocket-ri	(rocket-ret)
	’his rocket’	’his rockets’	’rockets’

The sg.-du. ending +(e)k is identical in form with the non-possessed absolutive and relative dual ending.

12.2. Kin terms with special absolutive singulars

A number of kin terms referring to older relatives, all of which end with a(a), have stems ending in a(a)r-; that is, ending in weak r. This fact does not show up in the nonpossessed forms, because all the non-possessed endings drop stem-final weak r. However, the weak r does show up in the possessed forms of the nouns.

	Abs. sing.	stem	sg.-sg.
grandmother	emaa	emaar-	emaa'a (not emaanga!)
grandfather	apaa	apaar-	apaa'a
aunt	anaanaa	anaanaar-	anaanaa'a
uncle	angaa	angaar-	angaa'a
(god)mother	maama	maamar-	maamaa (not maamii!)
(god)father	taata	taatar-	taataa
father, grandfather	paapaa	paapaar-	paapaa'a
older sister	aakaa	aakaar-	aakaa'a
older brother	aningaa	aningaar-	aningaa'a

The absolutive singular form is also used to call to the person, e.g. maama! 'mom!'.

All these nouns have alternate, but rarer, forms that are mainly used in the possessed forms; the most commonly used today are aana 'mother', ata 'father', alqaq 'older sister', and anngaq 'older brother'.

Note: The terms for "aunt" and "uncle" were originally reserved only for the maternal aunt and uncle (e.g. mother's sister, mother's brother). There were separate terms for paternal aunt (acaa, stem acaar-) and paternal uncle (ataataa, stem ataataar-).

12.3. Part nouns

Part nouns, like the positional nouns introduced in 11.2, almost always occur possessed. They refer specifically to part of a whole, or individual(s) out of a group. There is an interrogative part noun:

naliq. which part? which one? some part; a certain one.
    nalia? which part of it?
    naliat? which one of them?

Another part noun of very general meaning is

ila. part, kin, relative.
    ilii. part of it. his/her relative.
    iliit. one of them. their relative.
    ilait. some of them. their relatives.

The Alutiiq counterpart to English ordinal numerals are possessed numerals.

aipaa. the other one (of two). the second one.
pingayuak. the third one (of three).
pingayuat. the third one (of more than three).
staamiit. the fourth one.
tallimiit. the fifth one.
arwilgat. the sixth one.
mallruungiat. the seventh one.
inglulgat. the eighth one.
qulnguyaat. the ninth one.
quliit. the tenth one.

qaugciat. the how-manyeth one? the so-manyeth one.

The "tenth one" is homophonous with quliit 'the place above them'.

Note that from an Alutiiq point of view, an individual member in a group is "possessed" by **the other members** of the group (exclusive of the individual in question), rather than by the group as a whole. Thus, for example, in the case of aipaa 'the other one (of two)' the "other one" is possessed by its "other one". And in pingayuak 'the third one (of three)', the "third one" is possessed by the other two, and so forth.

taug'um aipaa. the other one (in relation to that one).
arnak pingayuak. the third woman (of three).
    [lit. the 2 women's third]
Englut arwilgatni et'uq. She's in the sixth house.

Note also the use of these possessed numerals in the locative case to denote one of a series of days or times:

pingayuatni. on the third day; the third time.
qaugciatni. one day; one time. [lit. "on the so-manyeth (one)"]

Note also the meanings of aipaa... aipaa... and akia... akia...:

Aipaa asirluni, **aipaa** asiinani. **One** is good, and **the other** is bad.
Akia tangernirluni, **akia** tangerniinani. **One side** is pretty,
    and **the other side** is ugly.

12.4. The postbase +(ng)ite- and its kin

The following postbases begin with +(ng)i, and join exactly like the +(ng)i suffix illustrated above:

+(ng)ite- (N\V[descr]) 'not to have N; to lack N'
+(ng)ir- (N\V[trans]) 'to deprive of N; to remove N from;
    to take N away from, out of, off of; to de-N'
        (N\V[intr]) 'to take N off of oneself'
+(ng)iqaute- (N\V[intr]) 'to run out of N; to be out of N'

The first of these, +(ng)ite-, is the negative counterpart to -ngqerte- (N\V[intr]) 'to have N'. In other words, it is used in place of the combination -ngqerte- plus the various negative suffixes, which combinations are therefore not grammatically correct, although perhaps understandable.

Like its affirmative counterpart, +(ng)ite- is used impersonally, translating 'for there not to be (any) N'.

Man'a alagnaituq. This place has no berries.
Maani alagnaituq. There are no berries here.

Note also the special contractions with pi- and suk:

piite- not to have any; to be gone; for there not to be any.
suite- for there not to be anybody there/home.

Note that, unlike -ngqerte-, the postbase +(ng)ite- forms **privative descriptive verbs**, and so forms its past tense with +(ng)ilngu-, and conjunctive with +(ng)ina-. It also has the following participle form, the negative counterpart to -lek 'one that has N'.

+(ng)ilnguq* 'one that doesn't have N, one that lacks N'

Tamlesqamek piugtengqertua. I have a black dog.
Tamlesqamek piugtaitua. I don't have a black dog.

tamlesqamek piugtelek. one that has a black dog.
tamlesqamek piugtailnguq. one that doesn't have a black dog.

Spiickaa'itua. I have no matches.
Spiickaa'iqautua. I'm running out of matches.
or I (just) ran out of matches. = I'm out of matches.
spiickaa'irluku. to deprive him of matches;
to take all his matches (away).

amiinani. not to have skin; to be skinless.
amiirluku. to take the skin off it; to skin it.

ulruinani. not to have pants on.
ulruirluku. to take his pants off.
ulruirluni. to take one's (own) pants off.

Positional nouns also take the postbase +(ng)ir- with the special meaning 'to go by the N[pos] side of; to occupy the position to the N[pos] side of':

aciirluku. to go underneath it.
qulairluku. to go over it.
ketairluku. to go out in front of it; to occupy the position out in front of it'
paingirluku. to go by the mouth of it; to occupy the entrance, thus preventing it from getting out.

12.5. The postbase -liqe-

-liqe- (N\V[intr]) 'to have one's N hurt, ache'

The postbase -liqe- belongs to yet another joining type, that of postbases beginning with -li. This type is irregular, and it would be best to memorize the forms introduced here. The irregularity consists in the fact that the l of this postbase and the preceding vowel may both sometimes, often optionally, be deleted. This most frequently happens when the vowel in question is a single a. Furthermore, if the stem ends in te, this combines with -liqe- to yield ciqe-.

i (ii-). eye.
    iiliqua. my eye hurts; my eyes hurt.

cun (cuute-). ear.

cuuciqua. my ear hurts; my ears hurt.

aqsaq. belly.
aqsiqua. my belly aches; I have a stomachache.

tekeq. index finger.
tekliqua. my index finger hurts; my fingers hurt.

nasquq. head.
nasquliqua, nasqiqua. my head hurts. But
nasqulnguunga. I have a headache. (stem nasqulngu-)

12.6. Nouns borrowed from Russian

When the Russians arrived at Kodiak, bringing with them a whole new inventory of material goods, the Alutiiqs, along with many other peoples, naturally adopted the names for these introduced objects. Almost all nouns borrowed from Russian, as well as some borrowings from English, are distinguished by two features. First, there are substitutions of native sounds for the Russian sounds, especially: e becomes i; o becomes u; b becomes p; d becomes t; g becomes k; sh, z, zh become s; f becomes gû; v becomes w; r either becomes l or stays ř, depending on the speaker. Second, -(a)q is added to nouns so as to create a stem that is familiar to the language: -q after a vowel, -aq or occasionally -aaq after a consonant. (This did not happen with some Russian words ending in k.)

Where the borrowed word is longer than one foot, and the last of these is an iambic foot, there is a tendency for velar dropping not to apply, so that the possessed forms with +(ng)V type suffixes usually behave according to rule 4 under 12.1, instead of rule 3:

uciitilaq, uciitilîaq. teacher. [from Russian uchítel']
  uciitila'a, uciitilîa'a. his/her teacher.
suitařaq. sweater. [from Russian svíter or possibly English]
  suitařa'a, suitařaa. his/her sweater.

12.7. Reflexive possessive forms

The third person possessive forms introduced so far can only be used if **the possessor is not the same as the subject of the sentence**. For example, in the following sentence, the hand that Mary examines cannot belong to Mary, but must belong to someone else, because Mary is the subject of the sentence:

(1) Maři'am aiga**a** tangertuumaluku.
  Mary must have examined his/her hand.

In Alutiiq, there is a special set of pronouns and pronominal endings used to refer to a **third person that is the same as--or includes--the subject of the sentence**. This is called the reflexive third person, or for short, just the reflexive (abbreviated R). For example, if Mary examines her own hand, then we must say:

(2) Maři'am aiga**ni** tangertuumaluku.
  Mary must have examined her (= Mary's) hand.

Note that if the possessor is the same as the subject, the NP specifying who or what the subject is cannot be repeated. Thus, just as in English, sentence (2) cannot be restated as follows:

(3) Maři'am Maři'am aigaa tangertuumaluku.
  Mary must have examined Mary's hand.

If someone were to utter sentence (3), the hearer would have to assume that the second Mary is a different person from the first Mary.

Some more examples of the contrast:

(4) Kas'at tuuř**aat** takumaluku. The priests must have checked on their
(= some other people's) skiff.
(5) Kas'at tuuřar**teng** takumaluku. The priests must have checked on their
(= the priests') skiff.

(6) Arnak angaa'**ak** tangrumaluku. The 2 women must have seen their
(= some other 2 people's) uncle.
(7) Arnak angaar**tek** tangrumaluku. The 2 women must have seen their
(= the 2 women's) uncle.

Note that the possessor need not be totally identical with the subject, but it must include the subject:

(8) Maamam angaa'**ak** tangrumaluku. Mom must have seen their
(= some other 2 people's) uncle.
(9) Maamam angaar**tek** tangrumaluku. Mom must have seen their
(= mom and someone else's) uncle.

For reference, we will give the absolutive case reflexive possessive forms here.

Possessum:	**singular**	**plural**	**dual**
Possessor:			
R.sg.	-ni	-ni	+(e)gni
R.pl.	+(g)teng	-teng	
R.du.	+(g)tek	-tek	

Vocabulary for Unit 12

aakaa (stem aakaar-). older sister.
aigaq. hand.
  aigai. his hands. [Plural may refer to a pair.]
aipaq. mate.
  aipaa. the other one (of a pair). the second one.
  aipaa... aipaa... the one... the other...
alqaq. older sister.
amiq. skin.
anaana. aunt. [Formerly referred only to mother's sister.]
aningaa (stem aningaar-). older brother.
anngaq. older brother.
angak. uncle. [Formerly referred only to mother's brother.]
angayuk. partner, buddy, pal.
arin. mitten.
aqsaq. belly.
ata. father.
ata-gûa, taagûa. this time; now for a change
  Ata-gûa! Taagûa! This is more like it!
awaqutaq. son.
cun (stem cuute-). ear.
elltuʳaq. grandchild.
gan (stem gaate-). chest.
gun (stem guute-). tooth.
i (stem ii-). eye.
ila. part, kin, blood relative, close relative.
  ilii. part of it. his/her blood relative.
  ilait. some of them. their blood relatives.
ilaruaq. relative (distant or fictitious), friend.
iluliqlluni. to have internal pain.
itgaq. foot.
  itgai. his feet. [Plural may refer to a pair.]

naliq. which part? which one? a certain part; a certain one (among a group).

nalia. which part of it? a certain part of it.

naliat. which one of them? a certain one among them.

nasquq. head.

nasqulnguluni. to have a headache.

nuliq (stem before a vowel: nulir-). wife.

pani^{g}aq. daughter.

qaneq. mouth.

qengaq. nose.

saapek. cap, hat.

slaapaq. hat with a brim.

suinani. to have no people. for there not to be anyone there/home.

taqmak. dress.

ul^{r}uk, ulruk. [dual] pants.

uyu^{r}aq. younger brother or sister.

wi (stem wii-). husband.

UNIT 13

13.1. The relative third person possessed noun suffixes

The relative forms of the possessed noun endings are formed, basically, by adding the following suffixes to the absolutive forms: +n (to 3sg. possessor forms), +a (to 3pl. possessor forms), and +ta (to 3du. possessor forms). Note also that the dual k becomes g before +ta, but gke before +n.

Possessum:	**singular**	**plural**	**dual**
Possessor:			
3.sg.	+(ng)an	+(ng)in	+(e)gken
3.pl.	+(ng)ata	+(ng)ita	
3.du.	+(ng)agta	+(ng)igta [also: -kegta]	

suugem qayaan 'the person's kayak' (sg.-sg.)
suugem qayain 'the person's kayaks' (sg.-pl.)
suugem qayagken 'the person's 2 kayaks' (sg.-du.)

suuget qayaata 'the persons' kayak' (pl.-sg.)
suuget qayaita 'the persons' kayaks' (pl.-pl. or pl.-du.)

suugek qayaagta 'the 2 persons' kayak' (du.-sg.)
suugek qayaigta 'the 2 persons' kayaks' (du.-pl. or du.-du.)
(also suugek qayakegta 'the 2 persons' kayaks')

These relative forms are used when the NP is the subject of a transitive verb or the possessor of a possessed noun. Examples of the latter:

suugem qayaan cuunga 'the person's kayak's bow'
    [sg. possesses sg., which possesses sg.]
suugem qayain cuungit 'the person's kayaks' bows'
    [sg. possesses pl., which possesses pl.]
suugem qayagken cuungik 'the person's 2 kayaks' 2 bows'
    [sg. possesses du., which possesses du.]

Examples with a transitive verb:

Nulira quliraucimaluku anciqniluni.
    He told his wife [ABS] that he would go out.
Nuliran quliraucimaluku anciqniluni.
    His wife [REL] told him that she would go out.

13.2. Postbases beginning with +(u)

The following postbases basically belong to the same joining type, although there are irregularities specific to each postbase.

+(u)ma-[1] (V\V) NON-WITNESSED (indicates that the event or state was not witnessed first-hand by the speaker)
+(u)ma-[2] (V\V[descr]) STATIVE
    'to be in a state resulting from V-ing'
+(u)te- (V\V[trans]) APPLICATIVE
    'to V with, for'

With postbases beginning with +(u), the u is not added to stems ending in a prime vowel, but is added to stems ending in a consonant (g, r) and stems ending in e; stem-final e is dropped before this u. (Stems ending in te, however, are treated differently for each postbase; see below.)

When the u is added to stems ending in a consonant, the same rules apply as when postbases of the form +(ng)V are added to stems ending in a consonant; see rules 3-5 under 12.1. In particular, velar dropping applies. We will first illustrate the results of adding +(u)ma- and +(u)te- to stems other than those ending in te.

Stem	+(u)ma-	+(u)te-
tai- 'to come'	taima-	taite-
maqi- 'to take a banya'	maqima-	maqite-
age- 'to go'	aguma-	agute-
aqume- 'to sit down'	aqumuma-	aqumute-
kenir- 'to cook'	keniuma-	keniute-
pisur- 'to hunt'	pisuuma-	pisuute-
ila^{g}ar- 'to join'	ilagauma-	ilagaute-
nunaniqsaag- 'to have fun'	nunaniqsaa'uma-	nunaniqsaa'ute-
iter- 'to enter'	itruma-	itrute-
uluteg- 'to watch'	ulutguma-	ulutgute-

Note: When either of the +(u)ma- postbases is added to stems ending in a single prime vowel plus g or r, and this single prime vowel would stressed by the prosodic rules, it is optionally possible for the g or r to undergo fricative dropping rather than disappear entirely, so that we may find forms like keni'uma- instead of keniuma- and pisu'uma- instead of pisuuma-. These forms are innovative, and we will not use them here.

Different rules apply when each postbase is added to stems ending in te. The postbase +(u)ma-[1] always combines with stem final te to yield cima-.

inarte- 'to lie down'	inarcima-
tekite- 'to arrive'	tekicima-

The postbase +(u)ma-[2], on the other hand, is replaced by +nga-: if the stem ends in rte or gte, the stem-final te is dropped altogether before +nga- (although it may optionally be replaced by s after a monosyllabic stem); otherwise, stem-final te is replaced by s before +nga-. If a consonant precedes this s, these two consonants are separated by insertion of e.

inarte- 'to lie down'	inarnga-
erte- 'to dawn'	ernga-
	eresnga-
eqte- 'to squeeze, tighten'	eqesnga-
tekite- 'to arrive'	tekisnga-

The postbase +(u)te- appears as +ute-: if the stem ends in rte or gte, stem-final te may either be dropped or be replaced by y (it is preferably replaced by y after a monosyllabic stem); otherwise, stem-final te is replaced by y. If stem-final te is dropped after g or r, this g or r is subject to fricative dropping.

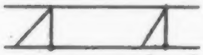
inarte- 'to lie down'	ina'ute-
	inaryute-
erte- 'to dawn'	eryute-
	(archaic: erute-)
eqte- 'to squeeze, tighten'	eqyute-
tekite- 'to arrive'	tekiyute-

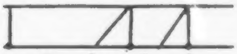
Note also that adding +(u)te- to stems ending in +(ng)uar- (see 17.1) may give the irregular +(ng)uite- as well as the regular form. Also note the irregular forms resulting from adding this postbase to et'e-:

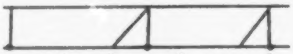
agnguar- 'to dance'	agnguite-
	agngua'ute-
et'e- 'to be, stay'	el'ute-
	luute-

13.3. The non-witnessed postbase

The non-witnessed postbase +(u)ma- is used to indicate that the event or state was not witnessed first-hand by the speaker. This is a tense-status postbase; it follows the postbases indicating tense (~ksaite-, +ciqe-, +ningaite-, ~kutar-), but precedes the negative postbase -n'ite-. Being a tense-status postbase, it belongs to the final stress-postponing portion of the word. (Note that the stress-postponing portion of the word in aqgûacimagkunani is long enough so that the three-syllable rule applies twice.)







aqumumaluni	aqûacimaluni	aqgûacimagkunani
'must have sat down'	'must have fetched'	'must not have fetched'

The non-witnessed postbase also combines irregularly with the non-past indicative endings: non-witnessed +(u)ma-[1] plus the intransitive non-past indicative marker +(t)u- combine to yield +(u)muu- (rather than the expected +(u)mau-):

Igcimuuq. It must have fallen (just now).
Angumuuq. She must be big. She must be an adult.

The complete set of endings is given below:

3sg. +(u)muuq
3pl. +(u)muut
3du. +(u)muuk

1sg. +(u)muunga
1pl. +(u)muukut
1du. +(u)muukuk

2sg. +(u)muuten
2pl. +(u)muuci
2du. +(u)muutek

In Alutiiq, it is necessary to make the distinction between what the speaker knows first-hand and what he does not. If you have not witnessed the event or state you are talking about, you must use the non-witnessed postbase to let the listener know that you are assuming that it must have been the case because (a) you were told it was the case, (b) there is reliable circumstantial evidence indicating that it was the case, or (c) you have good reason to surmise that is should be the case, given your knowledge of how things work. Thus, for example, you would say kařantaasaq igtuq if you saw the pencil fall, but you would say kařantaasaq igcimuuq if someone told you about it and you were reporting this fact to someone else, or if you were in another room and heard something fall and figured it must be the pencil, or if you left the pencil on the table, went out for a while, came back in and found it on the floor, and so forth. You would say Mař'i'aq ang'uq if you had seen Mary as an adult, but angumuuq if you had not seen her since she was a child some years back.

Examples of other combinations with tense postbases and endings:

Agumallriit. They must have gone.
    They (reportedly) went.
Agumanilngut. They must not have gone.
    They (reportedly) didn't go.
Ageksaicimuut. They must not have gone yet.
    They (reportedly) haven't gone yet.
Agkutaumuut. They must be about to go.
    They are (reportedly) going to go.
Agkutaumanitut. They must not be about to go.
    They are (reportedly) not going to go.
Agciqumuut. It must be the case that they will go.
    They (reportedly) will go.

Agningaicimuut. It must be the case that they won't go.
They (reportedly) won't go.

The non-witnessed postbase often occurs with the conjunctive endings in telling second-hand stories or traditional stories, including, of course, fables (unigkuat). In this type of narrative, the non-witnessed postbase is not used in every single clause. It is omitted, not only in tightly conjoined clauses but also in loosely conjoined clauses. Where it does occur, it gives a sort of emphasis to the clause, signalling a more important syntactic break (something like a punctuation mark). Look at the stories we have worked on so far for examples.

The non-witnessed postbase, like the tense postbases, never occurs on tightly conjoined clauses. The tightly conjoined clause inherits its non-witnessed status from the main verb.

Asirluci atuumuuci. You folks must sing well.

13.4. The stative postbase

In 8.4 we introduced the **stative** forms of some common verbs, in particular what we called **positional** verbs, like aqume- 'to sit' and nangarte- 'to stand'. These stative verbs refer to states, rather than events, and so belong to the category of descriptive verbs. A stative verb may be formed from most verbs other than descriptive verbs by adding the postbase +(u)ma- [2]. The stative means 'to be in a state resulting from undergoing the event'. If the verb is transitive, it usually translates 'to be V-ed'.

tuqu- 'to die'	tuquma- 'to be dead'
tai- to come'	taima- 'to be come'
llii- 'to put'	lliima- 'to be put'
kenir- 'to cook'	keniuma- 'to be cooked'

kumlate- 'to freeze'	kumlasnga- 'to be frozen'
kinerte- 'to dry'	kinernga- 'to be dried, dry'

Since these are descriptive verbs, they form participles with -sqaq:

tuqumasqaq. dead one.
tuqumasqat. the dead (pl.).

Sometimes these are hard to translate into English. Compare

Naken tai'uten? Where did you come from (just now)?
Naken taimauten? Where are you from?
(literally, From where are you in a state of having come?)

[In some dialects of English you can translate this more literally as "Where are you come from?", but American English has mostly lost this construction with verbs of motion.]

Some verbs have irregular stative forms ending in some consonant plus a. Most of these have already been introduced in 8.4. One other such verb is unguwa- 'to be alive', which has no non-stative form.

13.5. The applicative postbase

The applicative postbase +(u)te- has a wide range of meanings and functions, but these can be seen as somehow related to one another. In general, this postbase **introduces a new object to the verb**. If the verb is intransitive, its applicative derivative will usually be transitive, and if the verb is transitive, its applicative derivative will usually have a different object. However, the applicative derivative may be intransitive rather than transitive, in which case it may take an oblique object.

13.5.1. Applicative forms of verbs of motion

If the applicative postbase is added to a verb of motion, the result is a verb meaning roughly "to bring, take (along with one)".

age- 'to go'	agute- 'to bring, take (somewhere else)'
tai- 'to come (here)'	taite- 'to bring (here)'
tage- 'to go up'	tagute- 'to bring up, take up'
aciwar- 'to go down'	aciwaute- 'to bring down, take down'

The applicative form may be either transitive, e.g. agulluku 'to bring it, to take it', or intransitive, e.g. agulluni 'to bring some, to take some'. If intransitive, it may (and usually does) take an oblique object in the ablative case. Compare:

kuuřicaaq tailluku. to bring the chicken.
kuuřicaamek tailluni. to bring (some) chicken.

These forms may also translate in English as "to go with", but only if the subject is the one that initiates the motion. Otherwise the verb ila^{g}ar- 'to join; to go along with' must be used. For example, compare

Maamam Susy tagucimaluku penamen.

> Mom went up with Susy to the cliff. [Mom is the one who brought Susy along with her.]

Maamam Susy ilagaumaluku penamen.

> Mom went up with Susy to the cliff. [Susy wanted someone to go up with her, and asked Mom to accompany her.]

13.5.2. Applicative forms of verbs of activity

If the applicative postbase is added to a verb of general activity, the result usually translates "to V with" (either in the sense "to V by means of" or "to V along with") or "to V for":

maqi- 'to take a banya'	maqite- 'to take a banya with'
nere- 'to eat'	nerute- 'to eat with'
pisur- 'to hunt'	pisuute- 'to hunt with; to hunt for'

If the applicative postbase is added to a verb of speaking, it translates "to V to"

niugte- 'to speak, say'	niu'ute- 'to speak to; to say to'
quli'anguar- 'to tell (a story)'	quli'anguite- 'to tell (a story) to'

13.5.3. Applicative forms of weather verbs

The applicative forms of verbs referring to the weather and other natural events will translate roughly "to V on", where the object is the one that experiences the event.

erte- 'for it to dawn'	eryute-, erute- 'for it to dawn on'
kente- 'for the tide to go out'	kenyute-, kenute- 'for the tide to go out on'
tung'ir- 'for the tide to come in'	tungiute- 'for the tide to come in on'
qiter- 'for it to rain'	qitrute- 'for it to rain on'

Examples:

Uutut kenucimaluki. The tide must have come in on the sea urchins (covering them up).
Uswiillraraat qitrucimaluki. It must have rained on the children.

13.5.4. Intransitive applicative forms with indefinite objects

The applicative forms of some verbs, when used as **transitive** verbs, translate "to V (some) for". These forms are also used as **intransitive** verbs translating "to V (some)", indicating that the object of the verb is indefinite. These intransitive verbs may be followed by oblique objects. We have already had a number of these verbs introduced as pairs in the vocabulary.

ikug- 'to find'
    pasmakiiq ikugluku. to find the sock.
ikuute-
    ikuulluku. to find (some) for him/her.
    ikuulluni. to find (some).
        pasmakiimek ikuulluni. to find a sock.

tuu--'to take, buy'
    atkuut tuuluki. to buy the clothes.
tuute-
    tuulluku. to buy (some) for him/her.
    tuulluni. to buy (some).
        atkugnek tuulluni. to buy (some) clothes.

Other such pairs are iwaʳa-, iwa'ate-; aqgûa-, aqgûate-; pella-, pellate-; and ciqi-, ciqite-.

With these verbs, then, the ordinary transitive form is used if the object is definite, and the intransitive applicative form is used if the object is indefinite (optionally with an oblique object to specify the indefinite object.

Further uses will be discussed later.

13.6. Verbs borrowed from Russian

Not nearly as many verbs as nouns were borrowed from Russian, but these undergo the same systematic changes in the process of borrowing as do the nouns (see 12.6). Verbs are borrowed not in their **infinitive** forms--the Russian infinitive, which ends in -t' or -ti, is the form in which verbs are cited in dictionaries--but rather in the **imperative singular** form, which for practical purposes is the same as the stem form. To this is added +r-:

Russian infinitive	imperative sg.	Alutiiq stem
gulyát' 'to stroll, visit'	gulyáy	kula'ir-
doskát' 'to carry'	doskáy	taskaa'ir-
prostít' 'to forgive'	prostí	přastiir-
gnyat' 'to chase away'	goní	kunir-

Those stems that end in ay in Russian, as you can see, were borrowed in Alutiiq as stems ending in a(a)'ir-. Note that the apostrophe in these stems does not represent any dropped consonant, but simply the beginning of a new syllable. This presents a problem when velar dropping is supposed to occur. For example, if +(u)ma- is added to kula'ir-, the r is supposed to undergo velar dropping between the single vowels, resulting in a vowel pair iu. However, in the middle of a word, heavy syllables **must** begin with a consonant; if the apostrophe here represented an original g or r that was dropped, then that consonant would have to appear before the vowel pair. But here, the apostrophe does not arise from a dropped consonant. How is this problem resolved? There are two solutions. First, to insert a fictitious dropped consonant, namely r. Second, not to perform velar dropping. Both of these solutions are possible, so that the result may be either kula'iuma- or kulariuma-; the former is more common.

The same is true of native Alutiiq words where the apostrophe does not represent a dropped g or r. For example, from cama'i 'hello' we can add +r- to form the verb cama'ir- 'to say hello (to him/her)' (see the following section). If +(u)ma- is added to this, we get either cama'iruma- or camariuma-.

13.7. The verb-forming suffix +r-

Besides being added to Russian loans, +r- is more generally used to form verbs out of other categories of words. First, it is added to interjections to form verbs of saying:

aa'a. yes.
    aa'arluni. to say yes.
    aa'arluku. to say yes to him/her.

cama'i. hi, hello.
    cama'irluni. to say hi, hello.
    cama'irluku. to say hi, hello to him/her.

kita-qaa. goodbye.
    kitaqaarluni. to say goodbye.
    kitaqaarluku. to say goodbye to him/her.

Second, it is added to demonstrative adverbs and nouns in the comparative case, giving the meaning 'to do, act, say, speak (in a certain way)'. The final n of the comparative case ending is dropped before the +r-:

gûaten. like this.
    gûaterluni. to do, say this; to act, speak like this.
    gûaterluku. to do, say this to him/her.

When added to nouns it always has the further addition of the postbase +(ng)uar- (see 17.2), giving +(tes)turuar-:

sugte̱stun. like a person, Alutiiq; in Alutiiq.
    sugte̱sturuarluni. to act like a person, Alutiiq; to speak Alutiiq.
    sugte̱sturua'ulluku. to act like a person, Alutiiq toward him/her; to speak Alutiiq with him/her.

Third, it is added to demonstrative adverbs in the ablative case, giving wind direction terms. Here again, the final n is dropped before +r-:

kiaken. from the NE.
    kiakeq. NE (wind).
    kiakerluni. for the wind to blow from the NE.

waaken. from the SW.
    waakeq. SW (wind).
    waakerluni. for the wind to blow from the SW.

Vocabulary for Unit 13

alarlluni. to make a mistake.
angqe̲rlluni. to hurt. to be sore.
ciqiluku. to throw water on it.
ciqilluni. to throw water (on the rocks).
cuukiiq. sock.
el'ute-, luute-
el'ullutek, luullutek. to be, stay, live together.
el'ulluku, luulluku. to be, stay, live with him/her.
englarluni. to laugh.
englaruarluni. to sort of laugh. to smile.
erlluni. to dawn.
iglluni. to fall.
kasuute-
kasuulluni. to marry; to get married.
kasuulluku. to marry him/her; to get married with him/her.
kenlluni. for the tide to go out.
kenyulluku, kenulluku. for the tide to go out on it (leaving it high and dry).
ila'arluku (stem: ila^{g}ar-). to join him/her.
to go along with him/her.
picinek. indeed, for sure.
pingluni. to get (some). [takes oblique object]
pili-
pililuni. to make (some). [takes oblique object]
pililuku. to make (some) for him. [takes oblique object]
putuluni. to pout.
putunguarluni. to sort of pout. to frown.
quliraulluku. to tell him/her.
[takes oblique object referring to what is told about]
salaq. clam.
tung'irluni. for the tide to come in.
tungiulluku. for the tide to come in on it (covering it up).

uquq. oil, grease, fat.
    uqirluku. to put oil on it. to dip it in oil. to oil it.
uriitaq. bidarky. chiton.
u'uglluni. to melt.
uutuk. sea urchin.

QUIRIURTE̲LLEQ

Sergius Moonin-rem quli'anguallra
Jeff Leer-rem Qikertarmiute̲stun igallra

1 Taumi allamek:
2 suuget naneryanek aturluteng pisurtaa'umallriit,
3 uksuarmi ingrinun mayurluteng pisurwignun,
4 naneryanek aturluteng.
5 Taumi nukallpiaq ertii tagtaa'umaluni, pitaarluni.

6 Allrilumek takunrani pic'imaluni qate̲sqarpiamek,
7 castun aniuq quiriq qate̲rluni,
8 angli aya'iluku.
9 Awa'i taugna tuuqainarluku ciqlluaminun angicatuumaluni.

10 Nuna-ruq qakmani pe̲tangwagta, pe̲tangwagta,
11 pe̲tang'an kingyarluni,
12 awa-ruq taugna quiriq qate̲sqaq qecngumaluni.
13 Taugna atmani egte̲qainarluku malirqarluku,
14 tawaten qe̲cengluni kinguani,
15 ima-ruq ciqlluamen itqe̲rpagta.
16 Itqe̲rn̲g̲an itqe̲rlluni cali e̲lliin.

17 Legtem egkuani taugna qate̲sqaq quiriq aqumgaluni.
18 Cunang-ruq quirit tamaakut kasa'inaat pitaqumaluku.

19 Awa'i taugna suk quirit quyanaarluku,
20 pimaluku ata akguawaq allriluq et'e̲raa'asqe̲lluku.
21 Pianeq aa'arluki,
22 eciiqniluni allriluq akgua'aq.
23 Awa'i inarquumaluteng qawarluteng.
24 Taumi qawaqilluteng ercimaluni.
25 Cunang-ruq uksuq:

26 uksuq nangpiarluku quirit inarngataa’umuut qawarluteng.
27 Uksuq apertaa’umaat unugmek allrilumek.
28 Kiak aperluku ernermek.

29 Awa’i tawaken pimaluki,
30 awa’i aciwarciqniluni ernerpak.
31 Taugkut aa’arluku kita agesqe̲lluku.
32 Tawani qayamen eklluni aqumluni pakigpagta.
33 Qayat, qayat tailuteng, ketairluku,
34 awa-llu taugna quirinun itqe̲rte̲lleq qayagau’umaluni,
35 "Ugi’i! Ugi’i!"

36 Awa’i taugkuk qayak pimalutek,
37 "Ima awa’i quirit anumuut."
38 Cali qayagaurluni, "Ugi’i!"
39 -- "Tangri quiriq qalria’uq."

40 Awa’i aigani tange̲rtuumaluki,
41 aigai culuumaluki,
42 culuumamaluteng,
43 quiriurtengarmi nallumaluni.
44 Awa’i tawaken qiamaluni aigani tangqainarluki.

45 Angicimaluni tawa’ut naken taillria,
46 quirit ciqllua’atnun.

47 Tawaken taugkuk niite̲ste̲llrek qayam suugek pisuqutaumaluku.
48 Awa’i pe̲llate̲qainarluku taugna,
49 awa’i angite̲qainarlutek.

50 Awa’i iquklliluq.

Notes:

Title. quiriq. marmot.
quiriurlluni. to turn into a marmot.
-lleq. one that has V-ed. one who has V-ed.
-llra. one that he/she has V-ed.
2. naneryaq. figure-4 trap.
aturluku. to use it.
6. -nrani. when he/she V-ed (it).
+(r)piaq. real N
7. aniuq. snow (on the ground).
8. aya'iluku. to desire to have it.
9. ciqlluaq. barabara.
-minun. to his/her own N.
10. -ruq. (gives emphasis: hard to translate)
qakma- out there. (dem. adv.)
petangluni. to start to move
+wagta, +pagta. then he/she/it V-ed
11. +ngan when he/she/it V-ed
kingyarluni. to turn to look. (-luku: at it)
13. atmak. (back)pack.
atmani. his/her own (back)pack.
eglluku. to throw it (away).
malirqarluku. to chase it.
14. kingu- (N[pos]). place behind, after, following.
15. itqe̲rlluni. to run inside. (iter- plus ~qe̲rte- 'suddenly V')
17. egkur- (N[pos]). back, head (of a long enclosure: cave, bay).
18. tamaana. that (in that area). (plural: tamaakut)
kasa'inaq. boss, chief.
kasa'inaat. their boss, chief.
pitaqlluku. to catch it (animal).
20. +(e)sqe̲lluku. to ask him/her to V.
21. pianeq. immediately.
22. +ciqniluni. to say that he/she will V.

23. inarqurluni. to lie down for the night.
    to go to bed for the night.
24. ~qite- to get tired of V-ing.
27. aperluku. to call it (by some name).
    +(u/i)maat. they V-ed him/her/it (non-witnessed)
32. pakigluni. to start off.
34. awa-llu. and then. (= awa'i / -llu)
38. qayagaurluni. to call out.
    ugi'i! hey, there!
39. tangri! see!
    qalrialuni. to keep shouting, yelling.
40. tangerturluku. to inspect it, to look it over.
41. culugluku or culuumaluni. to be furry.
43. -ng'armi. even though he has V-ed.
47. niitestellrek. those 2 that heard him.

UNIT 14

14.1. Restricted and Extended Demonstratives

The demonstratives introduced so far refer, basically, to a delimited or restricted point in space or time, and for this reason they are called **restricted** demonstratives. For each of these there is a corresponding demonstrative that refers to not a point, but a stretch of space or time, or to an area. These are called **extended** demonstratives. As you can see from the following chart, the extended demonstratives have different stems from the restricted ones.

Gloss	Restricted	Extended
this (here)	una	man'a
that (there, near hearer or location known to speaker and hearer)	taugna	tamaana
that over there, across there	ikna	agna
that up there, up on shore (from viewpoint of water)	pingna	pagna
that down there, down on the water (from viewpoint of shore)	kan'a	un'a
that to the north, further inside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.)	kiugna	qaugna
that to the south, further outside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.)	ugna	unegna

Most demonstratives come in pairs where one member of the pair is the reciprocal opposite of the other. Thus, for example, if A is talking with B, then A's "this" (una) is B's "that" (taugna) and vice versa. Likewise, pingna 'up there' is the reciprocal opposite of kan'a 'down there' and kiugna is the reciprocal opposite of ugna. On the other hand, the demonstrative ikna does not have a reciprocal opposite (or more precisely, it is reciprocally opposite with itself).

The pair pingna and kan'a refer to "up" and "down" in at least three distinguishable senses. First, they refer to up above as opposed to down below. Second, they refer to up on the shore, beach, bank as opposed to down on the water. Third, they refer to up a slope, hill, or any other inclined surface as opposed to down it. The pair kiugna and ugna refer to relatively further "inside" and "outside" an enclosed area such as an inlet, a bay, a river valley, a cave, a house. Note, however, that they refer to relative location **within the enclosure**, not to "inside" the enclosure as opposed to "outside" the enclosure. That contrast is handled by a different pair to be introduced later (qamna and qakemna). Finally, the pair kiugna and ugna refer to direction relative to the largest and most important enclosure of the area, namely the 300-mile-long stretch of water formed by Cook Inlet and the Shelikof Strait, which runs roughly from NE to SW. In modern times, these directions tend to be identified with points on the compass, namely "north" and "south", rather than with relative direction on the Cook Inlet-Shelikof Strait axis.

These comments on the restricted demonstratives apply as well to the extended demonstratives. When are the restricted and extended demonstratives used? A good rule of thumb is that restricted demonstratives refer to something you can point directly at, whereas extended demonstratives refer to something you cannot point at without moving your hand. First, extended demonstratives refer to an area or locality, whereas the restricted demonstratives refer to a circumscribed place (such that one can point to it).

Maani taqukaraituq. There are no bears around here (in this area).
Un'gani pisurtaartukut. We hunt out there
(along the coast toward the south).

Second, a person, animal, or object that is moving directionally must be referred to with an extended demonstrative, since one typically moves the hand in pointing at it in order to indicate the direction of motion.

Maa'ut-qaa tai'uq pagna tengausqaq? Is that airplane up there coming this way?

Finally, something that is so large or long that one would indicate it with a wave of the hand or a motion of the finger may be referred to with an extended demonstrative. However, such objects (including, for example, roads, rivers, and rooms) may also be referred to with a restricted demonstrative, at least in the modern language. I'm not quite sure why this is, or what the parameters of variability are in such cases.

Man'a kuik imartuuq. This river is deep.
(also: Una kuik imartuuq.)

The stems of these demonstratives are given in the following chart:

Demonstrative pronoun			Demonstrative Adverb
Abs. sg.	Non-abs. sg.	Non-sg.	
una	uu-	uku-	gûa-
taugna	taug'u-	taugku-	tawa-
ikna	ik'u-	ike̱gku-	ika-
pingna	ping'u-	pingku-	pia-
kan'a	kat'u-	kanku-	kana-
kiugna	kiug'u-	kiugku-	kia-
ugna	ug'u-	ugku-	waa-
man'a	mat'u-	maku-	maa-
tamaana	tamaatu-	tamaaku-	tamaa-
agna	ag'u-	agku-	aaga-
pagna	pag'u-	pagku-	paaga-
un'a	un'u-	unku-	una-
qaugna	qaug'u-	qaugku-	qawa-
unegna	un'gu-	unegku-	un'ga-

In the interjectional forms of the demonstrative adverbs, the suffix +'i is added only to forms with a strong (stressed) stem-final syllable. If the stem-final syllable is not strong, the interjectional form is the same as the stem, e.g. aaga 'over there', paaga 'up there', and un'ga 'out there'.

14.2. The perlative and comparative cases

The perlative case ends in +kun or +gun. Its main use is to specify the means of travel or the route of travel. As such, it may translate "via", "by (way of)", "through", or "along".

Qayakun aiwillriakut. We went **by kayak**.
Kuigkun aiwillriakut. We went **along the river, by way of the river**.
Maagun tugca'arlita. Let's portage **through here**.

The perlative case also indicates which part of the body is involved in an action or sensation:

Natgun angqe̱rtaa? Where does she hurt?
Iruakun. In her leg.

The comparative case, as we have already seen, is added to names of nationalities to denote which language is being used. In general, it translates "like".

Kasaakate̱stun niugauk. They 2 are talking Russian.
(lit. "like Russians")
Piugtete̱stun wirlertuk. They 2 are snarling **like dogs**.

The following chart sums up the oblique case endings:

	Non-possessed			Possessed
	singular	plural	dual	
Locative	+mi	+ni	+(e)gni	+ni
Allative	+men	+nun	+(e)gnun	+nun
Ablative	+mek	+nek	+(e)gnek	+nek
Perlative	+kun	+(e)tgun	+(e)gkun	+kun, +gun
Comparative	+tun, +tęstun			

Stem-final weak r drops before all the non-possessed case endings, whether singular, plural, or dual; +kun and +(tes)tun are no exceptions. Compare, for example, qayami 'in the kayak' and qayakun 'by kayak' (from qayaq) with imarmi 'in the ocean' and imarkun 'via ocean' (from imaq*).

The non-possessed plural perlative is simply formed by adding +gun to the absolutive plural. Either +kun or +gun may be added to possessed noun endings ending in a vowel; +gun is added to those ending in t, and +kun is added to those ending in k (which, as usual, changes to g on adding the case ending).

The perlative suffix added to demonstrative adverb stems is +gun. The complete set of case endings peculiar to demonstrative adverbs is given below, as well as the forms with gûa- 'here' and the interrogative adverb stem na-, both of which are partly irregular:

	case ending	gûa-	na-
predicative:	+'i	gua'i	naama?
locative:	+ni	gûani	nani?
allative:	+'ut	gut	natmen?
ablative:	+ken	gûaken	naken?
perlative:	+gun	gun	natgun?

The comparative ending is most often just +te̩stun. Historically, this is the old plural comparative ending, but it is now used without regard to number. However, the old singular comparative ending +tun can be used as well, again apparently without regard to number. Either form can be added to possessed nouns, although the original form +tun is probably still more common except after possessed nouns ending in t̩, where the t̩ drops and +te̩stun is added. Note also the interrogative and demonstrative comparative forms:

castun? how?
gûaten. like this.
tawaten. like that.

14.3. Case forms of personal pronouns

With personal pronouns there is no distinction between the absolutive and relative case. The oblique cases, on the other hand, are formed by adding to the pronominal stem the same forms of the case endings that are added to possessed nouns.

	Absolutive/relative	**Stem**
1.sg.	gui	guang-, guim-
1.pl.	guangkuta	guangkumte̩-
1.du.	guangkunuk	guangkumteg-
2.sg.	e̩llpet	e̩llpe-
2.pl.	e̩llpe̩ci	e̩llpete̩s-
2.du.	e̩llpe̩tek	e̩llpe̩teg-
3.sg.	e̩lliin	e̩llii-
3.pl.	e̩llaita	e̩llait-
3.du.	e̩llaigta	e̩llaig-
	(also: e̩llke̩gta	e̩llke̩g-)

For example:

locative:	guangni	guangkumte̱ṉi
allative:	guangnun	guangkumte̱ṉun
ablative:	guangnek	guangkumte̱ṉek
perlative:	guangkun	guangkumte̱gun
comparative:	guangtun (also: guangte̱stun)	guangkumte̱stun

14.4. The comparative postbase +ta-

+ta (V[descr]\V[descr]) 'to V' {takes NP[compar]}
+taciq (V[descr]\N) 'degree, amount of V-ness'

The postbase +ta- must be added to a descriptive verb in order for the verb to have an adjunct in the comparative case. This adjunct refers to something compared to the subject. For example, the comparative form of ange̱- 'to be big' is angta- 'to be (so) big':

Castun angtauq? How big is it?
Gwaten angtauq. It's this big.
Tawaten angtauq. It's that big.
Kuuni(te̱s)tun angtauq. It's as big as a horse.
Guang(te̱s)tun angtauq. It's as big as me.
Uu(te̱s)tun angtauq. It's as big as this (one).

This postbase is usually added to non-privative descriptive verbs. This is because it is more natural to say "it is so big" than "it is so small" (even in English). However, it may be possible to add it to non-privative verbs as well, in which the privative te̱ will drop before +ta-. More forms:

	Comparative
take- 'to be long'	takta-
imartu- 'to be deep'	imartuta-
asir- 'to be good'	asirta-
uqnar- 'to be hot'	uqnarta-

The postbase +taciq is added to a descriptive verb to produce a noun denoting the amount or degree of the quality described by the verb. Such a noun is usually possessed.

angtacia. its bigness, size. how big it is.
miktacia. how small it is.
taktacia. its length. how long it is.
nanitacia. how short it is.
imartutacia. its depth. how deep it (water) is.
asirtacia. its goodness. how good it is.
uqnartacia. its heat. how hot it is.

These postbases are also added to the "empty" stem pi- to yield pita- 'to get (so far); to be (so far along)', which is used with allative adjuncts as well as comparative adjuncts:

Castun pita'uten? How far along are you (on your project)?
Tawaten pitagua. I'm so far along.
Natmen pitallriik? How far did they get (on their journey)?
Anchorage-men pitallriik. They got as far as Anchorage.
Anchorage-men pitalutek tengellriik. They flew as far as Anchorage.

14.5. Some modifying-type postbases

Most of the N\N postbases introduced so far, such as -nguaq, -sinaq, -ngiaʳaq*, -lleraq*, +(r)pakaq, can be referred to as **modifying-type postbases**, since they modify the sense of the noun they are attached to in much the same way as an adjective does in English. We will introduce four more such postbases here:

+(r)piaq (N\N) 'real N, genuine N, true N'
+(r)uaq (N\N) 'something like N, sort of N, imitation N, false N'
+(r)llainaq* (N\N) 'only N, nothing but N'
-ka^{r}aq* (N\N) 'the very N'

suk. person.
    sugpiaq. real person. (This is how Alutiiqs used to refer to one of their own people.)
    suuguaq. something like a person, fake person.
    sugllainaat. only people, nothing but people.

Adding +(r)piaq or especially +(r)uaq to a stem may result in a new lexical item.

cun. ear.
    cuutgruaq. dried apricot. ("something like an ear")
angeq. pitch, gum (from a tree).
    angruaq. chewing gum. ("something like pitch")

The postbase -ka^{r}aq* is by far most frequently added to positional nouns, where it translates 'right (there)' or 'just (there)':

Canikaraani nangarngauq. She's standing right next to him.
    (lit., at the very place beside him)
Englum ketkaraanun tagellria. He walked up to just below the house.

Note that the suffix -ka^{r}aq* (stem -ka^{r}ar*-) is added to the **stem** of the positional noun, and the possessive endings are added to it. So for example, to cani- 'place beside' you add -ka^{r}ar*- to yield canika^{r}ar*- 'place right beside', and then you add the sg.-sg. ending to yield canikaraa 'place right beside him/her/it'. Then, of course, you add the case ending.

This postbase is also added to the demonstrative adverbs (especially in the locative case). Here it is added to the complete adverb, including the case ending, but if there is a final consonant, this is dropped before -ka'aq.

gûanika'aq. right here. LOC [The other case forms are problematic.]

tawanika'aq. right there. LOC
tawa'uka'aq. (to) right there. ALL
tawakeka'aq. from right there. ABL
tawaguka'aq. via right there. PERL

The postbase +(r)piaq is added to the demonstrative pronoun taugna (between the stem and the ending) and the corresponding adverbs with stem tawa- (after the ending); this combination translates 'the (very) same'.

taugnarpiaq. the same one. ABS
taug'urpiam. the same one. REL
taugkurpiat. the same ones.

tawanirpiaq. (at) the same place. LOC
tawa'urpiaq. (to) the same place. ALL
tawakerpiaq. from the same place. ABL
tawagurpiaq. via the same place. PERL

tawarpiaq. (it's) just like ..., just as if ...

Kina taillria? Who came?
Taugnarpiaq (arnaq). That same one. (That same woman).

Tawanirpiaq pektuq. He's working in the same place.

Tawarpiaq qawarluni. (It was) just like he was sleeping.

14.6. The numbers above ten: counting money

The teens are usually expressed with qula 'ten' plus a number below ten. In the old counting system, the second number was treated as the adjunct of a conjunct verb form, either ciplluku 'going above it', or for the teens, also atrarngaluni 'being lowered'.

	New system	Old system
11.	qula allriluq.	qula allrilumek atrarngaluni. qula allrilumek ciplluku.
12.	qula mal'uk.	qula mal'ugnek atrarngaluni. qula mal'ugnek ciplluku.
	etc.	

There is a special form suinaq* for 'twenty', but the higher multiples of ten are the number plus qula. In the old counting system, now virtually obsolete, one counted by twenties instead of tens.

	New system	Old system
20.	suinaq	suinaq.
30.	pingayun qula	suinaq qulnek ciplluku. (20 + 10)
40.	staaman qula	mal'uk suinaak. (2 x 20)
50.	talliman qula	mal'uk suinaak qulnek ciplluku. (2 x 20 + 10)
	...	
100.		talliman suinaat. (5 x 20)
200.		qula suinaat. (10 x 20)
400.		suinaq suinaat. (20 x 20)

The term aki(q) was originally applied to the ruble, and later, when American money came onto the scene, equated with a bit (20 cent piece). Thus cents were also counted in twenties.

10 cents. qupa. ("half [a bit]")
20 cents. aki(q), akipiaq. ("a bit")
30 cents. aipaa quplluku. ("splitting the second [bit] in half")
40 cents. mal'uk akik. ("2 bits")
50 cents. pingayuak quplluku. ("spitting the third [bit] in half")
...
1 dollar. tallimaq. ("a fiver")

14.7. Review of syntactic structures

For reference, we can summarize here the syntactic structures introduced so far, adding the agreement features (AGR). Here AGR{x} means that the verb or noun must agree in person and number with NP{x} or N{x}, and likewise AGR{y} indicates agreement with NP{y} or N{y}.

1. S > (NP{x}[abs]) **VP[intrans, AGR{x}]**
2. S > (NP{x}[rel]) **VP[trans, AGR{x}]**

3. S > (NP{x}[abs]) **NP[abs, AGR{x}]**
4. S > (NP{x}[abs]) **PRED**

Thus in (1)-(3), the predicate VP or NP must agree with the subject NP{x}. The VP in (1) and (2) comes from the following structures:

5. VP[intrans] > (NP[oblique])* **V[intrans]**
6. VP[trans] > (NP[oblique])* (NP{y}[abs]) **V[trans, AGR{y}]**

In (6), the verb must agree with the object NP{y}. Substituting this into (2), we get S > (NP{x}[rel]) (NP[oblique])* (NP{y}[abs]) V[trans, AGR{y}, AGR{x}], which means that the transitive verb must agree with both the object NP{y} and the subject NP{x}. Likewise, in (7) the possessed noun agrees with itself (i.e. it has its own person and number), and agrees also with with the possessor NP{x}.

7. NP > (NP{x}[rel, AGR{x}]) **N{y}[AGR{y}, AGR{x}]**

In the possessive construction, another possessive construction can be substituted for the possessor. For example, if we substitute (NP{w}[rel, AGR{w}]) N{x}[AGR{x}, AGR{w}] for NP{x}, we get NP > (NP{w}[rel, AGR{w}]) N{x}[rel, AGR{x}, AGR{w}] N{y}[AGR{y}, AGR{x}], where each possessed noun agrees with itself and the NP preceding it.

Structure (8) shows the structure of the NP with optional modifiers, which can be demonstratives, numerals, or qualifiers, each of which agrees with the head noun.

8. NP > (N[dem/num/qual, AGR{x}])* **N{x}[AGR{x}]**

When the head of a NP is incorporated, it loses its own agreement and case marking, although this information is passed along to its modifiers. We can symbolize this by putting a raised dot (·) between the incorporated noun and what it is incorporated into. Thus, for example, if the head of (8) is incorporated into the V[intrans] of (5), we get the following, where the agreement and case marking of N{x} are not visible.

VP[intrans] > (N[dem/num/qual, AGR{x}, oblique])*
N{x}[AGR{x}, oblique]·V[intrans]

In (9), the structure for conjoined nouns of the "maamankuk taata-llu" type, NP{x} ("maama") is incorporated into the suffix to form a larger stem ("maamanku-") which agrees neither with NP{x} nor N{y}, but with their sum {x+y}.

9. NP > **NP{x}[AGR{x}]·N{z}[+ku-, AGR{z=x+y}]** (N{y}[-llu, AGR[{y}])

Vocabulary for Unit 14

aki(q). a bit; 20 cents.
aminani. to be skinny, thin in girth.
artunarluni. to be heavy.
cani- place beside, next to.
sg.-sg. cania.
cipte-
ciplluni. to go over, exceed (a certain amount).
ciplluku. to exceed it; to beat him/her (by a certain amount).
{Takes NP[abl] for the amount}
cuu- front, bow (of boat), place before or ahead of.
sg.-sg. cuunga.
iqug- end.
sg.-sg. iqua.
kangi- head (of bay, river), back (of house, cave, etc.)
sg.-sg. kangia.
kayagnarluni. to be difficult, hard.
kayagnainani. to be easy.
kiakeq. N or NE (wind).
kiakerluni, kiakengluni. for the wind to blow from the N(E).
kiate- place to the N(E).
sg.-sg. kiatii.
kingu- rear, stern (of boat), place behind or following.
sg.-sg. kingua.
kuuniq. horse.
kuuřicaaq. chicken.
kuřuwaq. cow.
llegluni (stem llege-). to be stout, big in girth.
naninani. to be short.
pitaluni. to get (so far); to be (so far along)
{Takes NP[compar] for amount, NP[all]} for distance}
qukar- middle, midst, place among or amidst.
sg.-sg. qukaa.

qupe-
  quplluni. to split.
  quplluku. to split it, divide it in half.
sugnirluni. to be friendly-looking, genial, happy-faced
  sugniinani. to be unfriendly-looking.
suinaq. twenty.
taklluni (stem take-). to be long.
tallimaq. a dollar; a fiver; a five (in cards).
tunge- place in line (with), in the direction (of).
  sg.-sg. tungii.
uqegnani (stem: uqegte-) to be light (in weight).
waakeq. S or SW (wind).
  waakerluni, waakengluni. for the wind to blow from the S(W).
waate- place to the S(W).
  sg.-sg. waatii.

UNIT 15

15.1. The non-past indicative transitive: 3.-3. endings

We have now learned a number of transitive verbs, but the only transitive endings introduced so far are the transitive conjunctive endings (+luku, etc.). Each mood (non-past indicative, non-past interrogative, past, imperative/hortative, etc.) has its own set of transitive endings. We have seen that the transitive conjunctive endings indicate the person/number of the object, rather than the subject. In all other verb moods, the transitive endings indicate the person/number of **both subject and object**. This means that there is a large set of transitive endings for each mood. We will therefore have to learn these endings bit by bit.

One fact that will help us learn the non-past indicative paradigm is that **the forms with third person object are made by adding the possessed noun endings to the mood marker +(g)ar-**. For example, adding the sg.-sg. suffix +(ng)a to this mood marker gives the ending +(g)aa, and adding the sg.-pl. suffix +(ng)i gives +(g)ai. The crucial difference is that, with these verb endings, the first number is that of the **subject** (rather than the possessor) and the second number is that of the **object** (rather than the possessum). Also, we need to say that if the person is unspecified, it is the same as third person. Thus, for example, sg.-sg. +(g)aa indicates that both the subject and the object are (third person) singular, whereas sg.-pl. +(g)ai indicates that the subject is (third person) singular and the object is (third person) plural. Here are the third person endings we can form so far:

Object:	singular	plural	dual
Subject:			
sg.	+(g)aa	+(g)ai	+(g)ak
pl.	+(g)aat	+(g)ait	
du.	+(g)aak	+(g)aik [also: +(g)akek]	

Since the subject of a transitive verb must be in the relative case, the combination of subject plus transitive verb looks just like the combination of possessor plus possessum. So, for example, with the possessive constructions suugem qayaa 'the person's kayak', etc., in 12.1. compare the following:

Suugem tangraa. The person sees it. (sg.-sg.)
Suugem tangrai. The person sees them. (sg.-pl.)
Suugem tangrak. The person sees them 2. (sg.-du.)

Suuget tangraat. The people see it. (pl.-sg.)
Suuget tangrait. The people see them. (pl.-pl. or pl.-du.)

Suugek tangraak. The 2 people see it. (pl.-sg.)
Suugek tangraik. The 2 people see them. (pl.-pl. or pl.-du.)

If either the subject or object is not specified by an overt NP, then we must use the appropriate third person pronoun in English. Compare:

(1) Suugem piugta tangraa. The person sees the dog.
(2) Suugem tangraa. The person sees him/her/it.

(3) Piugta tangraa. He/she/it sees the dog.
(4) Tangraa. He/she/it sees him/her/it.

Note that if only the object or subject NP is present, you cannot tell from their position in the sentence whether this NP is subject or object, as you can in English. There are two ways of figuring out which it is. First, if subject and object have different numbers, the verb ending will usually let you know which is which. Second, the subject must be in the relative case, whereas the object must be in the absolutive case. Thus in (3), suugem can only be the subject because it is in the relative case, and in (4), piugta can only be the object because it is in the absolutive case. Recall, however, that for unpossessed non-singular nouns, the absolutive and relative forms are identical, so you cannot tell the case by looking at the noun. In this case the verb ending may show which is which. Thus, for example, in (5) and (6) you can tell whether suuget is subject or object by looking at the verb ending to see whether the subject is plural or the object is. But in (7) the verb ending tells you that both are plural, so suuget could be either subject or object; the sentence is ambiguous.

(5) Suuget tangraat. The people see him/her/it.
(6) Suuget tangrai. He/she/it sees the people.

(7) Suuget tangrait. The people see them. or They see the people.

Note: Ambiguity of a different kind also occasionally arises in sentences of the following type. Here you cannot tell whether the noun in the relative case (suugem) is the possessor of the possessed noun or the subject of the transitive VP.

(8) Suugem piugtii tangraa. He/she/it sees the person's dog.
or The person sees his/her/its dog.

The endings given above belong to a new joining type, the +(g)V type. With this type, the g in parentheses is added only to stems ending in a prime vowel. Stems ending in e drop this e before this type of suffix, and if they are stems of the shape (C)VCe-, their final consonant is geminated before the ending. (Note that this gemination is written only before single vowels, not in the case of (C)VCVV, where gemination is automatic.) With stems ending in e plus a consonant (g or r), the e is optionally deleted (but if prosodic rule 2b applies, it must be deleted).

The only other thing to remember is that fricative dropping occurs after a vowel and before a single vowel. In this set of endings, the only one with a single vowel is sg.-du. +(g)ak.

Stem	**Non-past indicative transitive**	
	sg.-sg.	sg.-du.
kiu- 'to answer'	kiugaa	kiu'ak
ini- 'to hang'	inigaa	ini'ak
patu- 'to close, shut'	patugaa	patu'ak
nere- 'to eat'	neraa	ner'ak
unite- 'to leave'	unitaa	unitak
pingake- 'to like'	pingakaa	pingakak
iqair- 'to wash (clothes)'	iqairaa	iqai'ak
atur- 'to sing'; 'to use'	aturaa	atu'ak
piicag- 'to want, ask for'	piicagaa	piica'ak
aper- 'to say the name of'	apraa	aprak
uluteg- 'to watch'	ulutegaa	ulutegak
	ulutgaa	ulutgak

Like the non-past intransitive endings (13.3), the non-past transitive endings contract with the non-witnessed postbase +(u)ma-. The +(g) always drops after the non-witnessed postbase, and if the transitive ending has a vowel pair, the first vowel (a) of this vowel pair is dropped. The 3.-3. endings are given for reference:

+(u)maa +(u)mai +(u)maak
+(u)maat +(u)mait
+(u)maak +(u)maik
[also: +(u)maakek]

15.2. Subject-adding postbases

15.2.1. The causative postbases

There are two postbases that can be added to any verb to give a causative meaning. The choice of postbase is determined by the shape of the stem it is added to: if the stem ends in a vowel (but not in te̮), +gkûar- is added; if it ends in a consonant or te̮, +te̮ste- is added; stem-final te̮ is dropped before +te̮ste-. Thus these two postbases have exactly the same function, and can be considered as variants of a single postbase.

+gkûar- {after V}, +te̮ste- {after C, te} (V\V[tr])
'to cause to V, to make, let, have (someone) V'

This postbase has quite a bit of latitude in meaning. It does not necessarily imply that the agent directly causes an event to occur, but may mean that the agent indirectly causes it, or allows the event to happen by deliberately not preventing it. It is often translated in English by the verb "let (someone) V", as well as "have (someone) V" and "make (someone) V".

This pair is one of a set of postbases that cause a new subject to be added to the verb. This subject is the one who causes. Thus, when the causative postbase is added to an intransitive verb, the resulting verb is transitive. What was the subject of the original transitive verb becomes the object of the causative verb, and the subject of the causative verb is the one who causes. The following examples should make this clear:

Mař'iaq aturtuq. Mary {SUBJECT} is singing.
Iwanam Mari'aq aturte̮staa. John {SUBJECT} is causing Mary {OBJECT}

to sing (i.e. making, letting, having her sing).

Yaamaat maqartut. The rocks {SUBJECT} are warm.
Macam yaamaat maqarte̮stai. The sun {SUBJECT} is causing
the rocks {OBJECT} to be warm (i.e. warming them up).

Uswiillraraak maqiuk. The 2 children {SUBJECT} are taking a banya.
Maamam uswiillraraak maqigkûa'ak. Mom {SUBJECT} is having
the children {OBJECT} take a banya.

When this postbase is added to a transitive verb, on the other hand, the subject of the original verb does not become the object of the causative verb, since the original verb already has an object. Instead, this object remains the object of the causative verb, and the one who causes becomes the subject. So what happens to the subject of the original verb? If it is an overt NP, it is put into the **allative case**; otherwise it is simply omitted, and its person and number is not indicated but must be inferred. We will call it the **indirect subject**.

Mař'i'am uswillraraat aulukai. Mary {SUBJECT} is looking after
the children {OBJECT}.
Iwanam uswillraraat auluke̮gkûarai Mař'i'amen. John {SUBJECT}
is having Mary {INDIRECT SUBJECT} look after
the children {OBJECT}.
Iwanam uswillraraat auluke̮gkûarai. John is having X
(him/her, them, me, us, you) look after the children.
John is having the children looked after.

Tan'uraat atkuut inigait. The young men {SUBJECT} are hanging up
the clothes {OBJECT}.
Emaam atkuut inigkûarai tan'urarnun. Grandmom {SUBJECT} is
making the young men {INDIRECT SUBJECT} hang up
the clothes {OBJECT}.

Many verbs can be either intransitive or transitive. If so, sentences made with their causative forms may be potentially ambiguous, as the following example illustrates.

Iqalluut ner'ut. The fish {SUBJECT} are eating.
Naaqistem iqalluut neregkûarai. The reader {SUBJECT} is letting
the fish {OBJECT} eat (i.e. feeding them).

Iqalluut nerait. They {SUBJECT} are eating the fish {OBJECT}.
Naaqistem iqalluut neregkûarai. The reader {SUBJECT} is letting
(them) eat the fish {OBJECT}.
The reader is letting the fish be eaten.

The second and fourth sentences are identical in form; you cannot tell from the form of the sentence whether the fish are the eating or being eaten. In most cases where the sentence is ambiguous, however, it will be obvious from context which meaning is intended.

15.2.2. The postbase +(e)sqe-

+(e)sqe- (V[tr]\V[tr]) 'to want (someone else) to V;
to tell or ask (someone) to V'

The postbase +(e)sqe- is another subject-adding postbase, and acts just like the causative postbase.

Mařiʼaq aturtuq. Mary {SUBJECT} is singing.
Iwanam Mariʼaq atuusqaa. John {SUBJECT} wants Mary {OBJECT}
to sing (or told or asked her to sing).

Mařiʼam uswillraraat aulukai. Mary {SUBJECT} is looking after
the children {OBJECT}.
Iwanam uswillraraat aulukesqai Mařiʼamen. John {SUBJECT}
wants Mary {INDIRECT SUBJECT} to look after

the children {OBJECT} (or told or asked her to watch them).
Iwanam uswillraraat aulukesqai. John wants X
(him/her, them, me, us, you) to look after the children.
John wants the children to be looked after.

This suffix belongs to the same +(e) joining type as do the absolutive and relative unpossessed suffixes +(e)m, +(e)t, +(e)k, etc. As with these suffixes, the vowel e in parentheses is not added to stems ending in a vowel, but is added to stems ending in g or r. Also:

(a) if the stem ends in a single prime vowel plus g or r, this g or r undergoes velar dropping and the e of the suffix assimilates to the vowel of the stem, the result being a double vowel;

(b) if the stem ends in a vowel pair plus g or r, this g or r undergoes fricative dropping, and is replaced by an apostrophe; here again, the e of the suffix assimilates to the vowel of the stem;

(c) if the stem ends in e plus g or r, the e of the stem drops unless it is preceded by two consonants.

(d) if the stem ends in te, this te combines with +(e)sqe- to give ceqe-.

Stem	Form with +(e)sqe-
tai- 'to come'	taisqe-
age- 'to go'	agesqe-
nagte- 'to stop'	nagceqe-
inarte- 'to lie down'	inarceqe-
aciwar- 'to go down'	aciwaasqe-
kenir- 'to cook'	keniisqe-
pisur- 'to hunt'	pisuusqe-

iqair- 'to wash (clothes)'	iqai'isqe-
agnguar- 'to dance'	agngua'asqe-
iter- 'to enter'	itresqe-
uluteg- 'to watch'	ulutgesqe-

15.3. Contractions involving teste-

A special contraction is involved only with verb stems ending in teste- (including the postbase +teste-), namely, that if the second t̲ is replaced by c̲, this c̲ drops:

te̲sc > te̲s

We therefore find special forms for the following postbase combinations:

+te̲ste- plus +y... > te̲s...
+te̲ste- plus +ciqe- > te̲siiqe-
+te̲ste- plus +(u)ma- > te̲sima-
+te̲ste- plus +(e)sqe- > te̲seqe-

It should theoretically be possible to get two +te̲ste postbases consecutively. However, the language does not seem to allow more than one teste-:

+te̲ste- plus +te̲ste- > te̲ste-

Compare

igte̲staa. she let it fall; she dropped it. (igte- plus +te̲ste-)
guangnun igte̲staa. she made/let me drop it.
[Logically, igte- plus +te̲ste plus +te̲ste-.]

15.4. Transitivity classes of verbs

Verbs fall into certain categories according to whether they can occur with intransitive endings or transitive endings or both, and if both, according to the relationships between the meanings of these forms. So far we can distinguish three main transitivity classes.

a. Intransitive-only. These verbs occur only with intransitive endings.

ane-
    anluni. to go out.
kaig-
    kaigluni. to be hungry.
qiter-
    qiterluni. to rain.

Descriptive verbs are a special subcategory of intransitive-only verbs.

b. Agentive. These verbs occur with either type of ending. The subject of both the intransitive verb and the transitive verb is logically the **agent**, that is, the entity that acts or causes something to happen.

nere-
    nerluni. to eat.
    nerluku. to eat it.
tanger-
    tangerlluni. to see.
    tangerlluku. to see it.
iter-
    iterluni. to enter.
    iterluku. to enter it.

c. Patientive. These verbs also occur with either type of ending, but the transitive verb is primary. The subject of the intransitive verb is logically the

patient, that is, the entity that is acted upon or has something happen to it. If the subject of the intransitive verb is capable of acting, the intransitive form is logically equivalent to a **reflexive** ("to act on oneself") or a **reciprocal** ("to act on each other"; "to act on one another") construction. If its subject is not capable of action, it is logically equivalent to a **passive** ("to be acted upon" or "to get acted upon").

tuqute-
    tuqulluku. to kill him/her/it.
    tuqulluni. to kill oneself.
atkug-
    atkugluku. to dress him/her/it.
    atkugluni. to dress oneself = to get dressed.
ermig-
    ermigluku. to wash his/her face.
    ermigluni. to wash one's own face.
kasuute-
    kasuulluku. to marry him/her.
    kasuullutek. to marry each other (2) = to get married.
pucuur-
    pucuurluku. to kiss him/her.
    pucuurlutek. to kiss each other (2) = to kiss.
llii-
    lliiluku. to put it (there).
    lliiluni. to get put (there).
ikug-
    ikugluku. to find it.
    ikugluni. to get found.

The key fact about reflexive verbs is that **the object is identical with the subject**. For example, with tuqulluni the one who is getting killed is the same as the one who is killing, and with ermigluni the one who is getting his face washed is the same as the one who is washing the face. The same thing is essentially true of reciprocal verbs, but in a more complex way. For example, with kasuullutek the subject consists of two people, each of which is marrying someone else, but who are the people they are getting married to?--these same two people.

Now it is in general true in Alutiiq that **if the object is identical with (or includes) the subject, the intransitive endings are used**. For this reason, there are no transitive endings with first person subject and first person object, or with second person subject and second person object: the intransitive endings are used instead.

If a verb is agentive, then, the intransitive form is also used for the reflexive meaning. But since this has another, more common meaning where the subject is the agent, the form with the reflexive meaning is distinguished by adding the ablative form of the appropriate personal pronoun for the reflexive object. It is also possible, but not necessary, to do this with patientive forms with reflexive or reciprocal meaning.

tanger-
    Iwanaq tange̲rtuq. John sees.
    Iwanam tangraa. John sees him/her/it.
    Iwanaq **ellminek** tange̲rtuq. John sees **himself**.

tuqute-
    Iwanam tuqutaa. John killed him/her/it.
    Iwanaq (**ellminek**) tuqutuq. John killed **himself**.

Note here that there are special **third person reflexive** (R) forms of the personal pronouns. The stems are

Rsg. ellmi- 'himself/herself/itself'
Rpl. ellmegte̲- 'themselves'
Rdu. ellmegteg- 'themselves 2'

For the first and second persons, the ordinary pronouns are used:

Guangnek tangertua. I see myself.
Ellpenek tangertuten. You see yourself.

Now when the subject-adding postbases discussed in 15.2 are added to transitive verbs, the result is always a **patientive** transitive verb. Here again, if the object is identical with the subject, then the intransitive verb endings are used.

Mařiʼam ikayuusqaa Iwanamen. Mary wants John to help
her (someone else).
Mařiʼaq ikayuusquq Iwanamen. Mary wants John to help
her (Mary).

One other point that rather infrequently comes up: it is not necessarily the case that the object is identical with the subject, it may just include the subject. Thus, for example, in the following sentence the object ("us 2") may be identical with the subject ("we 2") or include the subject ("I")--there is no way to differentiate these two meanings in Alutiiq:

Ikayuusqellriakuk. We 2 asked (him) to help us 2.
or I asked (him) to help us 2.

Note: Patientive verbs can be considered basically transitive, and will be given only in their transitive forms in vocabulary entries; the intransitive forms can be considered to be derived from the transitive forms according to the following principle: if the subject of a transitive verb is either (partly) identical with the object or unspecified, it (that is, the relative-case argument) is eliminated, and all that is left is the absolutive-case argument, which means that you end up with a one-argument or intransitive verb with only an absolutive-case argument, which for an intransitive verb is the subject. In other words, if the subject of the transitive verb is eliminated, the verb is reinterpreted as intransitive and its object is reinterpreted as the subject.

Agentive verbs, on the other hand, will be given as intransitive-transitive pairs.

15.5. The iluraan aipaa construction

Iluraan aipaan kaatacuumaluku. One of two cousins wanted to play the stick game with the other. [Literally: His$_i$ cousin's$_j$ fellow$_i$ wanted to play the stick game with him$_j$.]

The literal translation of the above sentence into English is confusing if not completely misleading, hence the subscripts. These subscripts identify the **referents** of the nouns, i.e. who or what the nouns refer to. Say, for example, i = Freddie and j = Al. Then his$_i$ = Freddie's, his$_i$ cousin's$_j$ = Al's, and his$_i$ cousin's$_j$ fellow$_i$ = Freddie. That is to say: Freddie, who is his own cousin Al's fellow cousin, wanted to play the stick game with Al.

The reason for the confusion is that English does not allow the referent of a possessor within a NP to be identical with the referent of the whole NP, whereas Alutiiq does. The referent of the (unnamed) possessor of iluraan in iluraan aipaa is identical to the referent of the whole NP iluraan aipaa.

Note also that this NP is the subject of the sentence. Thus the possessor of iluraan is coreferential with the subject of the sentence. Why then doesn't it have a reflexive possessive ending, since we claimed in 12.5 that such endings are used for a third person that is the same as--or includes--the subject of the sentence? We must therefore modify this statement: the reflexive is used for **a third person outside the subject of a main clause that is coreferential with this subject**. We will later show cause to modify this statement even more.

Vocabulary for Unit 15

arn̲aq. sea otter.
asircarluku. to fix it.
aturluku. to use it.
auluke-
  auluklluku. to look after it, take care of it.
ikayurluku. to help him/her.
iniluku. to hang it.
iqaq. (bit of, mass of) dirt.
  iqairluku. to wash it (clothing).
kapkaanaq. (steel) trap.
  kapkaanarluni. to trap.
  kapkaanarluku. to trap it.
tuqulluku. to kill it.
nare-
  narluni. to smell (something).
  narluku. to smell it.
niicugni-
  niicugniluni. to listen
  niicugniluku. to listen to it.
nuteg-
  nutegluni. to shoot (with gun, rifle).
  nutegluku. to shoot it (id.).
pe̲rinani. (V[descr]) to be clean.
  pe̲rircarluku. to clean it.
pilag-
  pilagluku. to butcher it.
pitegte-
  pite̲glluni. to shoot (with bow and arrow).
  pite̲glluku. to shoot it (id.).

qame-
  qamluni. to become extinguished, go out.
  qamlluku. to extinguish it, put it out, turn it off
    (including a lamp, light, stove).
sege-
  segluni. to cut fish.
  segluku. to cut it (fish), operate on him.
sere-
  serluni. to sweat.
surte-
  surlluku. to light it, start it burning, turn it on
    (including a lamp, light, stove).
  surlluni. to catch on fire, start burning.
tamuuq. dry fish.
  tamuuluni. to eat dry fish.
uluteg-
  ulutegluni. to watch.
  ulutegluku. to watch it.
wiinaq. sea lion.

KAATALLEQ

Margaret Moonin-rem quli'anguallra
Jeff Leer-rem igarluku Qike̱rtarmiute̱stun

1 Iluraan aipaa nulirinani,
2 kaatacuumaluku.
3 Kaataumalutek ilu'ani taugna nulirirluku caqiirpiarluku,
4 nulirirluku, carlia'irluku, atkuiqaulluku.

5 Qutirua'umaluni taumi, quiringuaq ikuumaluku tuqumasqaq qutmi,
6 tuiminun llliiluku taugna quiriq.
7 Amiiraarluku amia ac'imaluku,
8 taumi ing'imen mayuumaluni,
9 te̱kicami ciqlluaq tangrumaluku.

10 Ciqlluamen taumi agumaluni.
11 Ciqlluam-ruq paturua'a pe̱tangumaluni,
12 taugna kangiillke̱lluku paturua'a ciqlluam.
13 Itrumaluni ciqlluamen,
14 tamallkuk itrumalukek tawa'ut iterngami.
15 Qetgerpagta-ruq taugna quiringuaq maamaminun, qetgerluni.
16 Taumi taugkuk apcimaluku caluku te̱ki'ucianek,
17 naken carliartek pe̱llate̱llertek qangiq ikuucillranek.

18 Taug'um pimalukek atkuiqaucani,
19 ilu'ami kaatarngani qakgûarngani,
20 qutiruanermini ikullruniluku.
21 Taumi taugkuk quyaklluku atkugte̱simaluku,
22 neregkûaraarluku,
23 caqinek atmaliluku.
24 Aciwaumaluni ciqlluaminun.

25 Taugkuk atmalingamek caqit qungate̱raarluki,
26 atmiit ken'geskateng qamluteng.

27 Taumi aciwarpagta ilu'aminun.
28 Taumi aciwarngami kugumaluki taugkut atmalleni,
29 ciqlluam-ruq akia tatarte̲piarluni caqinek.
30 Taumi taugkut iluraan qakgûallri,
31 nulira, carlia'i, tuquluteng nangpiarluteng.

32 Awa'i iqukllituq.

Notes:

kaataq. the stick game. kaatarluteng. to play the stick game.
    kaatalluku. to play the stick game with him/her.

1. iluʳaq. cross-cousin.
5. qutirluni. to walk on the beach.
6. tuik. shoulder.
11. patuq. cover.
    pȩtangluni. to start moving; to stir.
12. kangiiillkȩlluku. to be curious about it.
14. tamallkuk. married couple.
    iterluku. to walk in on him/her.
16. caluku tȩki'ucianek. how he had come to arrive there.
17. naken ikuucillranek. where he had found it.
19. qakgûarluku. to beat him, to win it (in gambling).
21. quyaklluku. to be thankful to him.
23. atmak. backpack.
    -liluni. to make a N. -liluku. to make a N for him/her.
26. keneglluku. to press it.
    ken'geskateng. when he/they pressed them.
    qamluni. to deflate.
28. kugluku. to dump it (out).
29. tatarlluni. to become full.
30. qakgûallri. the things he had won.

UNIT 16

16.1. The non-past indicative transitive: forms with 3. subject

Object:	1.sg.	1.pl.	1.du.	2.sg.	2.pl.	2.du.
Subject:						
3.sg.	+(g)aanga	+(g)aakut	+(g)aakuk	+(g)aaten	+(g)aaci	+(g)aatek
3.pl.	+(g)aatnga	"	"	+(g)aaten	"	"
3.du.	+(g)aagnga	"	"	+(g)aagten	"	"

The endings with 3.sg. subject and 1. or 2. person object are easy to remember. These are simply formed by adding to the sg.-sg. ending +(g)aa the familiar person/number suffixes: 1.sg. +nga, 1.pl. +kut, 1.du. +kuk, 2.sg. +ten, 2.pl. +ci, 2.du. +tek. The endings with 3.pl. or 3.du. subject and 1sg. or 2sg. object are likewise formed by adding these person/number suffixes to the sg.-pl. ending +(g)aat or sg.-du. ending +(g)aak. As usual, the dual marker k shows up as g when another suffix is added to it. Also, in the combination +(g)aat plus +ten, the first t is dropped.

The endings with 3.sg. subject and 1. or 2. non-singular object can also be used for 3.pl. and 3.du. subject, as indicated on the chart above. However, for these endings it is also possible to substitute +(g)ait for +(g)aa. See the complete chart of verb endings in the appendix for these alternative forms with +(g)ait. For the time being, we will ignore these endings, because they just complicate the picture and are optional and very rarely used to boot.

Anaanaam tangraanga. Auntie sees me.
Wiinat tangraatnga. The sea-lions see me.
Frank-kuk tangraagnga. Frank and the one with him see me.

Kitum tangraaten? Who sees you?
Makut tangraaten. These ones (around here) see you.

Taugkuk tangraagten. Those two see you.

Tangraakut. He/she/it/they see us.
etc.

16.2. Impersonal verbs

In addition to the transitivity classes of verbs discussed in 15.4, there are two classes of what we call **impersonal verbs.** These are verbs that can only have one possible subject, namely third person singular. This subject is **impersonal,** that is, it does not refer to a specifiable person or object, but rather to some sort of impersonal principle or natural force.

The first class of impersonal verb is **impersonal intransitive**. These are intransitive-only verbs that normally have an impersonal 3.sg. subject. Most of these are verbs referring to the weather and other natural forces.

Qiteng'uq. It is raining. [What is "it"?]
Macanguq. The sun is shining. [= "It" is sunshining.]
Agyirtuq. The stars are shining. [= "It" is starshining.]
Aqllanguq. The wind is blowing. [= "It" is windblowing.]
Kentuq. The tide is going out.
Tung'irtuq. The tide is coming in.

However, it is possible to use plural subjects with these verbs, where the subject refers to people who experience the weather:

Maani qiteng'ukut. We're having/experiencing some rain here.

The postbases -ngqerte- and +(ng)ite- can form either intransitive-only verbs meaning 'to have N' and 'not to have N', or impersonal intransitive verbs meaning 'for there to be N' and 'for there not to be N', respectively.

Iwanaq alagnangqertuq. John has berries.

Maani alagnangqe̱rtuq. There are berries around here. [= Around here "it" has berries.]

A small class of verbs that we might also call impersonal is the intransitive-only verbs of days of the week. These verbs can only have a 3.pl. subject.

Pektut. It is Monday. [= "They" are working.]
Aipiriut. It is Tuesday.
.....
Maqiut. It is Saturday. [= "They" are taking banyas.]
Agayuut. It is Sunday. [= "They" are going to church.]

The second class of impersonal verb is the **objective verb**. These are transitive-only verbs that can only have an impersonal 3.sg. subject. The object, on the other hand, can usually be any person. **The object of the objective verb translates in English as the subject of an intransitive verb.** The following chart shows the endings used with objective verbs and exemplifies them with the verb quyarlluku 'to be cold' (i.e. to feel cold, not to be cold to the touch).

Object	**Ending**	**Example**
3.sg.	+(g)aa	quyartaa 'he/she is cold'
3.pl.	+(g)ai	quyartai 'they are cold'
3.du.	+(g)ak	quyartak 'they 2 are cold'
1.sg.	+(g)aanga	quyartaanga 'I am cold'
1.pl.	+(g)aakut	quyartaakut 'we are cold'
1.du.	+(g)aakuk	quyartaakuk 'we 2 are cold'
2.sg.	+(g)aaten	quyartaaten 'you are cold'
2.pl.	+(g)aaci	quyartaaci 'you guys are cold'
2.du.	+(g)aatek	quyartaatek 'you 2 are cold'

You can recognize objective verbs by the fact that they are given in the vocabulary with the transitive conjunctive ending +luku and yet translate in English as intransitive verbs. Some of these can occur either as objective or intransitive-only verbs, e.g. angqerlluku or angqerlluni 'to hurt, ache'.

Aigaa angqe̲rtaa. or Aigaa angqe̲rtuq. His hand hurts.

Many objective verbs refer to natural processes involving a condition that spreads to where it involves all of the affected object.

Kumlataa. It is freezing. [= "It" is freezing it.]
U'ugtaa. It is thawing (out). ["It" is thawing it out.]
Kinertaa. It is drying (out). ["It" is drying it out.]

Virtually any noun can be transformed into an objective verb meaning something like "to have N all over", "to get N all over", "to be covered with N", "to be N-ridden".

cikuq. (piece of) ice.
    cikuluku. to be ice-covered, icy.
aniuq. (piece of) fallen snow.
    aniuluku. to be snow-covered, snowy.
iqaq. (piece of) dirt.
    iqaluku. to be covered with dirt, dirty.

These three are unusual in that the stem-final r̲ is omitted in the verb; actually, these nouns originally ended in vowels (as the verb stems still do), and later had weak r̲ added to the noun stem.

siqat'ak. (piece of) mud.
    siqat'agluku. to be covered with mud, muddy.
nuyaq. hair (on the head).
    nuyarluku. to be hairy (with head hair).

culuk. hair (on the body), fur, feather.
culugluku. to be hairy (with body hair), furry, feathered.
qiq. (stem qiir-) gray hair.
qirluku. to have gray hair.
ingqiq. nit.
ingqirluku. to be covered with nits.
cigúutkaaq. tuberculosis.
cigúutkaarluku. to have tuberculosis, to be TB-ridden.

If the noun stem ends in a vowel (or English r), "dummy" r is usually added, and if the noun is from English and ends in a consonant (other than r), e is inserted before the "dummy" r.

neresta. louse.
neresterluku. to be louse-ridden.
cancer.
cancer-rluku. to have cancer, to be cancer-ridden

Objective verbs are also formed by adding the postbase +(u)te- to impersonal intransitive verbs, as illustrated in 13.5.3.

qiterluni. for it to rain.
qitrulluku. for it to rain on it.
Qitrutaakut. It's raining on us. We got caught in the rain.
kenlluni. for the tide to go out.
kenulluku. for the tide to go out on it.
Uriitat kenutai. The bidarkies are exposed by the tide.
erlluni. for it to dawn.
erulluku. for it to dawn on it.
Iiraat erutai. Day broke on the devils. The devils were caught exposed by the dawn.

Finally, verbs expressing the time of day are objective verbs:

Qaugcinek kaugaa? What time is it? [= How many times does "it" strike it (the bell)?]
Mal'ugnek kaugaa. It is two o'clock. [= "It" strikes it twice.]
Mal'ugnek qukaraa. It is half past one. [= "It" halves it twice.]

The last verb qukarluku is particularly tricky. To translate "half past" a particular hour in English, you say "it qukaqs" the **following** hour in Alutiiq!

16.3. The postbase +yaraurte-

+yaraurte- (V[intr]\V[impers.tr]) 'for it to be time for O to V'
(V[tr]\V[impers.tr]) 'for it to be time to V O'

The postbase +yaraurte- is an interesting variant of the subject-adding postbases (see 15.2). The subject that gets added by this postbase is an **impersonal subject**, so that the result is always an objective verb. In the following examples, the subject of the original intransitive verb becomes the object of the objective verb.

Inarcaraurtaakut. It's time for us to go to bed.
Makcaraurtaaten. It's time for you to get up.
Uswiillraraat neryaraurtai. It's time for the children to eat.

It is also possible for forms with this postbase to be **impersonal objective**, that is, for the object to be impersonal as well as the subject. In this case, the impersonal object refers to people in general.

Inarcaraurtaa. It's time to go to bed.
[This does not specify whose bedtime it is.]
Neryaraurtaa. It's time to eat.

In the following examples, the object of the original transitive verb stays the object of the objective verb.

Kuuřicaaq tuqucaraurtaa. It's time to kill the chicken.
Iqalluut neryaraurtai. It's time to eat the fish.
[This can also mean "It's time for the fish to eat"; compare the last set of examples in 15.2.1.]

Note: Although we would expect to be able to refer to the indirect subject in the allative case, this does not seem possible with this postbase. For example, it doesn't seem possible to say

*Kuuřicaaq tuqucaraurtaa Iwanamen.
It's time for John to kill the chicken.

16.4. Lexical causative postbases

+te- (V[intr]\V[tr]) 'to cause O to V'
+car-, -ngcar- (V[intr]\V[tr]) 'to perform a characteristic activity on O so as to cause it to V'
+cir-, -ngcir- (V[intr]\V[tr]) 'to leave O until it Vs'; 'to wait for O to V'

The above postbases all form patientive verbs. They cannot freely be added to any verb, but are added only to a certain ones. We say of such postbases that they are lexical postbases, meaning that whether a given combination of verb stem plus postbase cannot be easily predicted, but must be specified as part of the lexical information for the verb stem.

By contrast, the postbases +(g)kûar-/+teste- and +(e)sqe- are freely added to any verb. In fact, they are **S-incorporating postbases,** that is, postbases which incorporate the head of a sentence (the verb) in the same way as **NP-incorporating postbases** like +(r)yug- incorporate the head of a NP (the head noun).

The postbase +te- is typically added to intransitive-only verbs.

tuquluni. to die.
    tuqulluku. to kill it. (tuqulluni. to kill oneself.)
qamluni. to become extinguished; to go out (of a fire, light, electrical appliance).
    qamlluku. to extinguish it; to put it out (a fire); to turn it off (a light or electrical appliance).
agluni. to go.
    aglluku. to get it going; to start it (a machine).
anluni. to go out.
    anlluku. to put it out; to take it out (of an enclosure, through an opening).
iterluni. to go in.
    iterlluku. to put it in (into an enclosure, through an opening).

This postbase can be added to all motion verbs formed by adding +war- to N[pos] stems (see 11.3).

aciwar- to descend, go down.
    aciwarlluku. to lower it.
qulwar- to rise.
    qulwarlluku. to raise it.

The postbase +çar- or -ngçar- is typically added to descriptive verbs or intransitive-only verbs.

asirluni. to be good.
    asircarluku. to fix it.
pȩrinani. to be clean.
    pȩrircarluku. to clean it.
llangluni. (stem llaange-) to come to one's senses.
    llangcarluku. to punish him/her (so as to cause him/her to come to his/her senses).

mayarluni. to be skinny.
mayangcarluku. to put him/her on a diet (so as to cause him/her to become skinny).
mayangcarluni. to go on a diet. [This is a reflexive: to put oneself on a diet.]

The postbase +cir- or -ngcir- is typically added to intransitive-only verbs and objective verbs. It can usually be replaced by +car- or -ngcar-.

kumlalluku. to freeze.
kumlacirluku, kumlacarluku. to freeze it.

16.6. The enclitics -naa, -ruq, -i

The enclitic -naa implies that the speaker expects the hearer to know what he is talking about, translating roughly as "you know".

Makut-naa asiitut. These are bad, you know.

The enclitic -ruq adds emphasis and flavor, and has no real English equivalent. It may used to insist that what is said is true, no matter what the hearer thinks, so translating something like "I tell you".

Awa-ruq aiwimaluni. Then he went.
Asiitut-ruq. They're bad, I tell you.

What appears to be an enclitic -i may be added to certain of the demonstrative adverbs with the stem gûa-, but does not seem to carry any difference in meaning:

gut-i. (to) here. ALL
gûaken-i. from here. ABL
gun-i. via here. PROL
gûaten-i. like this. COMPAR

Vocabulary for Unit 16

aglluku. to get it going; to start it (a machine).
agyaq. star.
agyirluni. for the stars to shine.
amutaq. cod.
aniuq. (piece of) fallen snow.
aniuluku. to be covered with snow, snowy.
anlluku. to put it out. to take it out (out of an enclosure, through an opening).
[But not out of a vessel or container, cf. yuuluku.]
aperluku. to call it by name, to name it (designate it by name), to say it out loud, to pronounce it.
cikuq. (piece of) ice.
cikuluku. to be covered with ice, icy.
igaq. something written, letter, written word, etc.
igarluni. to write; igarluku. to write it.
iqaq. (piece of) dirt.
iqaluku. to be dirty.
iraluq. moon.
iralirluni. for the moon to shine.
iterlluku. to put it in (into an enclosure, through an opening).
[But not into a vessel or container, cf. eklluku.]
kinerlluku. to dry out/up.
kinercirluku, kinercarluku. to dry it.
kumlalluku. to freeze.
kumlacirluku, kumlacarluku. to freeze it.
llangluni (stem llaange-). to come to one's senses, to (re)gain awareness. [This can refer to one's first memories: "When I gained awareness, ..."]
llangcarluku. to castigate, punish him/her (i.e. to act so as to cause him/her to gain awareness).
maqa'iluni (stem maqa^{r}i-). to be hot. [This refers to perception of one's "inner thermostat" of body heat.]

mayarluni. to be thin, skinny, emaciated (lacking flesh or fat).
    mayangcarluku. to put him/her on a diet.
mingqe̲lluni. to sew. mingqe̲lluku. to sew it.
naqlluku. (stem naaqe-) to read it.
    naaqiluni. to read.
qetgerluni. to jump.
quililuni. to be fat, corpulent.
quyarlluku. to be cold. [This refers to perception of one's "inner thermostat" of body heat.]
sagiq. halibut
u'uglluku. to melt.
    u'ugcirluku, u'ugcarluku. to melt it.

UNIT 17

17.1. The non-past indicative transitive: 1.-2. and 2.-1. endings

Object:	**2sg.**	**2pl.**	**2du.**
Subject:			
1sg.	+(g)amken +(g)aken	+(g)amci	+(g)amtek
1pl.	"	"	"
1du.	"	"	"

Object:	**1sg.**	**1pl.**	**1du.**
Subject:			
2sg.	+(g)arpenga	+(g)arpe̲kut	+(g)arpe̲kuk
2pl.	+(g)arpe̲cia	+(g)arpe̲cikut	+(g)arpe̲cikuk
2du.	+(g)arpe̲tgennga	+(g)arpe̲tkut	+(g)arpe̲tkuk

The 1pl./du.-2sg. ending may optionally be +(g)amte̲gen for some speakers.

Tange̲rciqamken. or Tange̲rciqaken. I'll see you. We'll see you.
(also Tange̲rciqamte̲gen. We'll see you.)
Tange̲rciqamci. I'll see you guys. We'll see you guys.
Tange̲rciqamtek. I'll see you 2.

Niitarpenga-qaa? Do you hear me? Can you hear me?
Niitarpe̲cia-qaa? Do/Can you guys hear me?
Niitarpe̲tgennga-qaa? Do/Can you 2 hear me?

17.2. Postbases beginning with +(ng)u

+(ng)u- (N\V[descr]) 'to be N'
+(ng)urte- (N\V[trans]) 'to cause to become N';
(intrans) 'to become N; to turn into N'

+(ng)utaar- (N[num]\V[intr/tr] 'to do so (to it) Num at a time, Num by Num'

+(ng)uar- (V\V) 'to sort of V; to do something like V-ing; to pretend to V; to V casually, for fun, for the heck of it'

The first three postbases join just like the +(ng)-type postbases introduced in 12.1, **except** with stems ending in e. With the above postbases, the ng in parentheses is added to stems ending in e and stem-final e is dropped. If the preceding consonant is a stop, then the ng is devoiced. However, if there are two consonants before the dropped stem-final e, then an impermissible cluster of three consonants would result, so e is **reinserted** in exactly the same place as it was dropped. Since the second of the two stem-final consonants is always a stop, the ng is always devoiced, and the reinserted e is always voiceless. For further details of how e-reinsertion works, see 17.4.

wi (stem wii-) 'husband'	wiinguluni 'to be a husband'
ila 'part, relative'	ilauluni 'to be a part, a relative, a member (of a group)'
neqa 'food'	neqnguluni 'to be food'
angun 'old man'	angutnguluni 'to be an old man'
piugta 'dog'	piugtenguluni 'to be a dog'
arnaq 'woman'	arnauluni 'to be a woman'
kaiwiq 'old woman'	kayugiuluni 'to be an old woman'
arya'aq 'young woman'	aryagauluni 'to be a young woman'
nukallpiaq 'man'	nukallpia'uluni 'to be a man'
suk 'person'	suu'uluni, suuguluni 'to be a person'
nutek 'rifle'	nutguluni 'to be a rifle'

Equational sentences whose predicate consists of a NP with a non-possessed noun as head are essentially equivalent to sentences where the head noun is incorporated into the postbase +(ng)u-:

(1) Una kaařaq. This is a car.
(2) Una kaařau'uq. This is a car.

Equational sentences like (1) are more common. However, if tense or status must be expressed (i.e. everywhere except in the non-past affirmative witnessed), the construction with +(ng)u- must be used, so that the tense/status postbases and endings will have a place to attach, since they can be added only to verbs.

(3) Una kaařaun'ituq. This is not a car.
(4) Una kaařaullria. This was a car.
(5) Una kaařauciquq. This will be a car.

The postbase +(ng)urte- is by origin a causative of +(ng)u-: 'to cause to be(come) N'. It is most frequently used in the intransitive, meaning 'to become N; to turn into N'.

Aaquyaurcimallria. She must have turned into a land otter.

The postbase +(ng)utaar- is added to numerals to form verbs commonly used in the conjunctive mood, forming tightly conjoined clauses that (like nangluni, nangluku) agree in transitivity with the main verb.

Allriluutaarluteng yuulartut tuuřamek.
They are getting out of the skiff one at a time, one by one.
Allriluutaarluki yuularai tuuřamek.
He's taking them out of the skiff one at a time, one by one.

Malruutaarluteng tag'ut. They're going up two at a time,
two by two.

The postbase +(ng)uar- differs from the others in two ways. First, it acts like ordinary +(C) type postbases in that the initial ng in parentheses is added to **all** stems ending with a vowel, and stem-final g and r never drop (they can't drop because they are always followed by a double vowel). Second, it behaves like other verbal +C type postbases in that the initial consonant ng contracts with stem-final te:

te + ng > ng

qialuni. to cry.
    qianguarluni. to pretend to cry; to sort of cry; to cry wilfully (not because one really has something to cry about).
nalluluni. not to know; to be ignorant.
    nallunguarluni. to pretend not to know; to feign ignorance.
nerluni. to eat.
    nernguarluni. to pretend to eat; to eat (because one feels like eating, not because one is really hungry).
kuinglluni. to walk (not for pleasure).
    kuingnguarluni. to walk (for pleasure); to take a walk.
inarlluni. to lie down.
    inarnguarluni. to pretend to lie down; to lie down (because one feels like it).
aciwarluni. to go down.
    aciwaruarluni. to pretend to go down; to go down (because one feels like it).

This postbase is the V\V equivalent of the N\N postbase +(r)uaq 'something like N, imitation N, fake N'. There are quite a few cases where these postbases are added to a noun stem and/or verb stem to give a new stem with a specialized meaning, or a lexicalized stem. Furthermore, it is often the case that nouns and verbs have the same stem, and we may find clear cases where what was originally a noun stem can also be used as a verb, and vice versa. Thus if the stem ends in g or r, it may be hard to tell whether the N\N postbase has been added to a noun stem which can now also be used as a verb stem, or the V\V postbase has been added to a verb stem which can now be used as a noun stem, or whether both postbases have been added to the noun and verb stems, respectively.

anaq. shit. anarluni. to shit.
    anaruaq. diarrhea. anaruarluni. to have diarrhea.
iqsak. hook (for jigging). iqsagluni. to fish with a hook.
    iqsaguaq. hook (for fly fishing); fishing pole.
    iqsaguarluni. to fish with a fishing pole.
nutek. rifle, gun. nutegluni. to shoot. nutegluku. to shoot it.
    nutguaq. staple gun. nutguarluni. to staple (with a staple gun). nutguarluku. to staple it.

In some cases it is clear that the postbase +(r)uaq was added to a noun stem, which can now be used as a verb stem as well:

puyuq. smoke.
    puyuruaq. cigarette, cigar; a smoke ("something like smoke"). puyuruarluni. to smoke (tobacco). puyuruarluku. to smoke it.

In other cases it is clear that the postbase +(ng)uar- was added to a verb stem, which can now be used as a noun stem as well:

agluni. to go.
    agnguarluni. to dance ("to pretend to go"). agnguaq. dance.
    [This refers to European-style dance, e.g. the waltz, where people look like they're going somewhere, but don't.]

It is with these lexicalized instances of +(ng)uar- that the postbase +(u)te- combines irregularly to yield +(ng)uite- (see 13.2).

A second +(ng)uar- can be added to such lexicalized stems, this one with the predictable effect on meaning:

puyuruaruarluni. to pretend to smoke (tobacco); to smoke casually.
agnguaruarluni. to pretend to dance; to dance (for the heck of it).

17.3. The postbase +piar-

+piar- V\V 'to really, truly V; to V exactly'

This postbase is the verbal equivalent of +(r)piaq 'real N', just as +(ng)uar- is the verbal equivalent of +(r)uaq. It has one peculiarity: when added to a stem ending with a vowel plus te, the stem-final te changes to s unless it is the privative te, i.e. the final te of a privative descriptive verb or et'e-, or a negative postbase such as +(ng)ite-, -n'ite-, +ningaite-, or ~ksaite-, in which case it changes to ll.

qenaluni. to be sick.
    qenapiarluni. to be really sick.
angluni. to be big.
    angpiarluni. to be really big.
mik'nani. (stem mikete-) to be small.
    mikellpiarluni. to be really small.
asirluni. to be good.
    asirpiarluni. to be really good.
asiinani. to be bad.
    asiillpiarluni. to be really bad.
piinani. not to have any; for there not to be any.
    pillpiarluni. not to have any at all; for there not to be any at all.
tekilluni. to arrive. tekilluku. to arrive at it.
    tekispiarluni. to arrive exactly (there).
    tekispiarluku. to arrive exactly at it.
peklluni. to work.
    pektepiarluni. to really work; to work really hard.
alarlluni. to make a mistake.
    alartepiarluni. to really make a mistake.
aqumluni. to sit down.
    aqumpiarluni. to really sit down.
pingaklluku. to like it.
    pingakpiarluku. to really like it.

This postbase is also added to some of the tense-status postbases for emphasis. In those cases it belongs to the final stress-postponing portion of the word. However, since +piar- constitutes a heavy syllable, it always forms a monosyllabic foot.

It can be added to all negative or privative postbases, in which case it usually translates '(not) at all':

-n'illpiar- (emphatic negative) 'does not V at all'
+ningaillpiar- (emphatic negative future) 'will not V at all'
~ksaillpiar- (emphatic negative perfect) 'has not V-ed at all'

When +piar- intervenes between a negative postbase or privative stem and the ending, the ordinary forms of the ending are used:

Alingenil**ngua**. I wasn't afraid.
Alingenillpia**llrianga**. I wasn't afraid at all.

Alingegku**nii** tagellrianga. I went up without being afraid.
Alingenillpiar**lua** tagellrianga. I went up without being afraid at all.

Note that the negative conjunctive marker +(g)kuna- is analyzable as a lexicalized combination of +(g)ku- (negative) and +na- (conjunctive); this form +(g)ku- of the negative marker occurs only in this specific combination. If the combination is broken up by +piar-, not only does the ordinary conjunctive marker replace +na-, but the ordinary negative marker -n'ite- occurs instead of +(g)ku-.

The postbase +piar- also forms lexicalized combinations with a few tense postbases indicating a definite time, but not, for example, to +ciqe- (indefinite future) or +(u)ma-[1] (non-witnessed).

~kutarpiar- (emphatic immediate future) 'is just now going to V; is just about to V; is just on the verge of V-ing'

17.4. Review of +C type suffixes; reinsertion of e

The +C type suffixes all begin with a single consonant (p, t, c, s, l, y, w, m, n, ng) followed by a vowel. Before such suffixes stem-final e is always dropped, or **elided**, except optionally between voiceless consonants (i.e. between k, q, and p, t, c, s). To see how this works, let us compare forms with +(ng)uar- and +piar-:

a. e-dropping by prosodic rule 2c.

ane- 'to go out'
    annguarluni. to pretend to go out; to sort of go out.
    anpiarluni. to really go out.
take- 'to be long'
    taknguarluni. to be sort of long.
    takpiarluni. to be really long.

b. e-eliding obligatory.

aqume- to sit.
    aqumnguarluni. to sort of sit.
    aqumpiarluni. to really sit.
alinge- to be afraid.
    aling'uarluni. to sort of be afraid.
        (= alingnguarluni)
    alingpiarluni. to really be afraid.

c. e-eliding optional between voiceless consonants.

pingake- 'to like.
    pingaknguarluku. to sort of like it.
    pingakpiarluku, pingakepiarluku. to really like it.
naaqe- to read.
    naqnguarluku. to pretend to read it; to read it (for fun).

naqpiarluku, naaqe̲piarluku. to really read it.

The process of e̲-elision puts e̲ next to the preceding consonant. If the stem ends in a stop plus e̲ (pe, te, ke, qe), and the initial consonant of the suffix is voiced (l, y, w, m, n, ng), then the latter consonant will be devoiced:

l > ll
y > s
w > gû

Suffix-initial nasals (m, n, ng) are also devoiced, but by the spelling convention described in 1.1, they are written without the underline after stops, so they do not change in form unless e̲ is reinserted.

A special rule called e-reinsertion applies after a stem that ends in two consonants plus e̲. Any time a stem ends in two consonants plus e̲, the second consonant is always a stop (t, k, q). If adding a +C type suffix and eliding the e̲ results in a three-consonant cluster, then e̲ is always reinserted in the same place where e̲ was elided.

Why bother to remove the e̲ (by e̲-elision) only to put it back in the same place again (by e̲-reinsertion)? The rules are set up this way to explain the fact that both the initial consonant of the suffix and the reinserted e̲ are voiceless. We say that the three rules of e̲-elision, devoicing, and e̲-reinsertion apply in just this order. To see how this works, let us take a couple of examples with the stems mingqe- 'to sew' and piugte- 'dog', applying each rule in turn:

	mingqe- plus +luku >
1. e̲-elision:	mingqluku >
2. devoicing:	mingqlluku >
3. e̲-reinsertion:	mingqe̲lluku 'to sew it'

mingqe- plus +(ng)uar- plus +luku >
1. e-elision: mingqnguarluku >
2. devoicing: mingqnguarluku >
3. e-reinsertion: mingqenguarluku 'to pretend to sew it'

piugte- plus +mek >
1. e-elision: piugtmek >
2. devoicing: piugtmek >
3. e-reinsertion: piugtemek '(from) a dog' (ABL)

First e-elision applies, which puts the voiced consonant of the suffix next to the final stop of the stem. This results in devoicing of the voiced consonant of the suffix. Finally, e is reinserted between these two consonants. Note that **reinserted e is always voiceless**, and if the following consonant is a nasal, both the reinserted e and the nasal are underlined.

The second major fact to remember about +C suffixes is that most of them are **verbal** suffixes (i.e. added to verb stems), and these **verbal +C suffixes almost all have some sort of rule where verb-stem-final te either combines with the suffix** or changes to s or ll before the suffix. In general:

t + l > ll
t + y > c
t + w > gû
t + m > m
t + n > n
t + ng > ng
t + t > t
t + ciqe- > ciiqe-

17.5. The postbases +(ng)urte- and +(ng)i'ute- with weather stems

+(ng)urte- (N[weather]\V[impers.obj]) 'for N to start'
+(ng)i'ute- (N[weather]\V[impers.intr]) 'for N to stop'

These postbases, like -nge-, are added to stems denoting weather events. (These stems can be used either as nouns or verbs, but because the above postbases can otherwise be added only to noun stems, we will consider the "weather stems" to be basically noun stems.)

qiteq. rain.
    qiterluni, qitengluni. for it to rain.
        Qitertuq. Qiteng'uq. It's raining.
    qitrurlluku. for it to start raining.
        Qitrurtaa. It's starting to rain.
    qitri'ulluni. for the rain to stop.
        Qitri'utuq. The rain is stopping.

qaniq. snow.
    qanirluni, qaningluni. for it to snow.
    qaniurlluku. for it to start snowing.
    qanii'ulluni. for the snow to stop.

aqllaq. wind.
    aqllarlluni, aqllangluni. for the wind to blow.
    aqllaurlluku. for the wind to start blowing.
    aqllai'ulluni. for the wind to stop.

As we noted in 16.2, although weather verbs are primarily impersonal they may occur with a plural subject (or object) denoting who is experiencing the weather.

Qitertukut. Qiteng'ukut. We are having rain. It is raining on us.
Qitrurtaakut. We are starting to have rain. The rain is starting on us.
Qitri'utukut. The rain is stopping on us.

Vocabulary for Unit 17

asiklluku. (asike-) to like it; to feel it is good.

asiillke̲lluku (asiillke-) to dislike it; to feel it is bad.

caluni (ca-). to have what happen to it?
for what to be the matter with it?
Cait? What's the matter with you? What happened to you?
Cate̲si? (2pl.)
Cate̲stek? (2du.)

minarluku. to give (some) to him.
[takes obl. obj. denoting what is given; the direct obj. denotes who it is given to]

mingqe̲lluni. to sew. mingqe̲lluku. to sew it.

milurluku. to hit it by throwing something at it.
[the direct obj. denotes what is hit]
miluulluku. to hit something by throwing it.
[the direct obj. denotes what is thrown]

mululuni. to take a long time; (to do something) for a long time.
mulugkunani. (to do something) before long.

pingaklluku (pingake-). to like it.

piqerluku. to hit it, slap it with the hand or a sticklike or paddlelike object.
[the direct object denotes what is hit]
piqrulluku. to hit, slap something with it.
[the direct object denotes what is used to hit]

puyuq. smoke.
puyulek. volcano.
puyuruaq. cigarette (or other smoking tobacco product).
puyuruarluni. to smoke. puyuruarluku. to smoke it.

qilak. sky, especially cloudy sky; heaven.
qilangluni (qilange-). to be cloudy.

qunuklluku (qunuke-). to love it.

serluni (sere-). to sweat.

taayarluku or tailluku. to give it here.
[the direct obj. denotes what is given]

utaqalir-
    utaqalirluni. to wait.
    utaqalirluku. to wait for it.

TAQUKA'ARSURTA TAN'URAQ

Walter Meganack-rem quli'anguallra
Jeff Leer-rem igarluku Qikertarmiu'ate̲stun

1 Tan'uraq allrilumek pisuumallria taquka'arsurluni.
2 Legta tekicamiu qinercimaluni,
3 qinercami taumi tange̲rlluku arnaq taquka'aq,
4 arnauluni legtem iluani,
5 nuqlluku itrumaluni.
6 Angute̲qiitii taqukaraam piinani, pisurluni,
7 nuliran quliraucimaluku.
8 Ukuk taqukaraak tamallkuk.
9 Suugem legte̲m̲i qinercani,
10 nulira arnauluni,
11 taug'um iterte̲simaluku,
12 iterngan taumi neregkûarluku.

13 Muluwailan taumi wiinga alairluni,
14 qakma tailuni,
15 iterluni legte̲m̲en.
16 Awa'i nuliran nuuyamaluku tan'uraq una pisurta keluminun.
17 Wiinga niugcimaluni iterngami,
18 "En̲g̲aa! Sugcuning!"
19 narluku suk.
20 Kita nuliran taug'um arin, suugem aritii eglluku,
21 "Una nar'an," pimaluku.

22 Tawani uksiluteng.
23 Nerkutaquneng-ruq neqlianek, qiullrianek,
24 iqallugnek neqlikunek,
25 ke̲n̲ertuumalutek kennguamek legtem qukaani,
26 aigani kenrem quliinun lliiluki,
27 urugte̲slluku uquni neqlikutaquni.

28 Uksuq nangluku ell'utek.
29 Ell'uteng tawani taug'um taqukaraam angute̲qiitiin nalluluku
30 arnaan keluani et'engraan.

31 Awa'i ugnerkarngan anyaraurcateng anumaluni wiinga,
32 takuciqniluku lla castun et'a.
33 Taqukaraat an'aqameng legte̲gteng ii'utaa'umakait,
34 lla maliglluku,
35 castun macaq.
36 Agluni, ii'uluni, aturluni,
37 qakma wamluni.
38 Pingayuatni alarcimaluni,
39 en̲g̲aa!
40 alarlluni,
41 awa'i tange̲rn̲ingain̲iluku nulini ilutmen pimaluku,
42 "Kitum pitaqciqaanga-ruq,
43 ugnerkarpak ili kiagpak."
44 Taumi nulira taugna anegkunani pate̲sn̲aklluku.
45 Mal'ugnek uswiillra'angqe̲rllutek taquka'anguagnek.
46 Kita awa'i una cali ang'aqurluku nuuyaani pisurta.

47 Qaugcinek qawartaqaacan wiingan anucillra anumaluteng.
48 Awa'i taqukaraam atkuni all'uku,
49 amini all'uku,
50 ankutarngami uswiillra'ani atkugte̲slluki.
51 Kita ankutarngamek alle̲rtuumaluku tan'uraq,
52 "Ukuk uswiillraraak pigken.
53 Nunagpe̲n̲un-ruq te̲kiskuut
54 piugtet qiluutiitni qe̲cengtaaqina
55 piugtem uswiilraraagka caqtaryua'ak
56 kelugpe̲te̲sn̲un nunagpe̲te̲sn̲un tai'aqamta."

57 Awa'i una nunaminun te̲kicami tan'uraq pisulleq
58 quli'anguicimaluki pe̲llate̲ste̲lleni nani elnguq,

59 uksusinaq nangluku nani elnguq,
60 taqukaraam legtiini ec'imaluni.
61 Piugtet qiluutiitni qe̲cengtaa'umaluni
62 piugtet kuniryaturluki,
63 tange̲rllukek taugkuk taquka'anguak piugtet qimaglluki.

64 Qaugciatni piugtet qilungraata,
65 calinermini tagumagkunani
66 arnaq pingake̲gkengani nayunerminiu,
67 qe̲saluni tagumagkunani.
68 Muluraarluni kita tagumaluni takuluki kangiillke̲lluki.
69 Qangiq piugtet taquka'anguak caqtaumalukek urqe̲piarlukek.
70 Aaniita kita ketgûarwikumaluku suuguluni
71 niu'uqurluku tan'uraq,
72 "Naama alle̲rtuqemken
73 piugtet qiluutiitni qe̲cengtaa'asqe̲lluten
74 uswiillraraagken takulukek.
75 Alartuten guangni,"
76 taqukaraam taug'um pimaluku,
77 kita amini at'e̲raarluku
78 tan'uraq taugna caqtarluku urqe̲piarluku.

79 Awa'i iquklllituq.

Koniag Alutiiq Jeff Leer, ANLC

Notes on TAQUKA'ARSURTA TAN'URAQ

2. ...camiu = ...te- plus +ngamiu. when 3sg. V-ed 3sg.
3. ...cami = ...te- plus +ngami. when 3sg. V-ed.
5. nuqlluku (stem nuuqe-). to invite him/her (over, inside).
6. angute̲qiitak. male.
8. tamallkuk. a couple.
9. ...cani = ...te- plus +ngani. when 3sg. V-ed 3sg.
12. +ngan. when 3sg. V-ed.
13. muluwailan. before long.
    alairluni. to show up.
14. qakma. outside.
16. nuuyaluni. to hide.
    -minun. to her own N.
18. en̲g̲aa! (sniffing sound of bear)
    +(r)cuning!. it smells like N!.
20. arin. mitten.
    eglluku. to throw it.
21. +(g)an (2sg.-3sg. indic. present)
22. uksiluni. to spend the winter.
23. ~kuneng. when 3pl. would V.
    neqliluni. to prepare a meal.
        neqliaq. food prepared for a meal.
    qiullria. greenery, vegetable.
24. ~kunek. when 3du. would V.
25. +tuuma-. to have N (there, with one).
30. -ngraan. even though 3sg. V-ed.
31. ...cateng = ...te- plus +ngateng. when 3sg. V-ed 3pl.
32. +ciqni-. say that (someone) will V.
33. +(g)aqameng. whenever 3pl. V.
    ii'uluni (stem ii^{g}u-). to go around in circles.
35. castun N. like N.
41. +ningain̲i-. to say that (someone) will not V.

42. pitaqlluku. to kill, catch (game).
+(g)aanga (3sg.-1sg. indic. present)
43. patesnaklluku. to have [here: the weather] be too cold for one.
46. ang'aqurluku. to keep [here: as a boyfriend].
nuuyaaq. stash, something hidden.
47. ~kaacan. after 3sg. had V-ed.
anucillra. the fact of his having gone out.
[here: N[num, abl] qawartaqaacan anucillra. N[num] days after he had gone out.]
48. all'uku (stem at'e-). to put it (clothing) on.
51. +ngamek. when 3du. V-ed.
allerturluku. to warn him/her.
52. pigken. yours' (2sg.-du.)
53. +(g)penun. to your N(s).
~kuut. if/when you V.
54. qilugluni. to bark.
+(u)tiitni. as soon as 3pl. V.
~kina (2sg. future imperative)
qecengtaaqina! always run (in the future, habitually)!
55. caqtarluku. to tear it apart.
caqtaryua'ak. 3sg. might tear 3du. apart.
56. +(g)petesnun. to your (pl.) N(s).
+(a)qamta. whenever we V.
58. pellatestelleni. those who had lost him.
62. kunirluku. to chase it away.
63. qimaglluku. to chase it away.
64. -ngraata. even though 3pl. V-ed.
65. -nermini(u). while 3sg. was V-ing (3sg.).
66. pingakegkengani. the one he liked.
nayurluku. to stay with him/her.
67. kangiillkelluku (stem kangiillke-). to be curious about it.
69. urqelluku (stem urqe-). to dismember, shred it.
70. +wike-. to V on (something), to V to (a person).
71. niu'uqurluku. to speak, say to him/her.

72. naama. remember?
    ~kemken (2sg.-1sg. indic. past)
75. guangni. by me' (LOC of gui)

UNIT 18

18.1. The possessed noun endings: absolutive case

The complete set of possessed noun endings in the absolutive case is given below:

	ABSOLUTIVE		
	singular	**plural**	**dual**
Possessor:			
3.sg.	+(ng)a	+(ng)i	+(e)k
3.pl.	+(ng)at	+(ng)it	
3.du.	+(ng)ak	+(ng)ik	
1.sg.	~ka	+(e)nka	+(e)gka
1.pl.	+(g)pet	-pet	
1.du.	+(g)puk	-puk	
2.sg.	+(e)n	-ten	+(e)gken
2.pl.	+(g)ci	-ci	
2.du.	+(g)tek	-tek	
R.sg.	-ni	-ni	+(e)gni
R.pl.	+(g)teng	-teng	
R.du.	+(g)tek	-tek	

The forms with third person possessor have already been introduced, and the forms with reflexive possessor were also given for reference. The forms we will concentrate on here are the first and second person forms. First, note that in all cases where the possessor is non-singular, the same ending is used for a plural or dual possessum. Only where the possessor is singular are there special forms for indicating a dual possessum, and these all begin with the dual marker +(e)g-, followed by the marker for the possessor (ka, ken, ni).

The forms with non-singular 1., 2., and R. possessor are constructed according to the same pattern: there is basically only one person-number marker for each possessor, but the joining type differs according to whether the possessum is singular or non-singular. If the possessum is singular, the joining type is +(g), that is, g is added to a stem ending in a vowel; if the stem ends in g or r, the g or r remains. Thus there is always a consonant (g or r) before the person-number marker. If the possessum is non-singular, the ending is of the dropping type, which means that stem-final g or r is dropped. Thus you can always tell whether the possessum is singular or non-singular by looking to see if there is g or r before the person-number marker. Compare the following forms with 1pl. possessor:

	1pl.-sg. +(g)pet	**1pl.-pl./du.** -pet
nuna 'land'	nunagpet 'our land'	nunapet 'our lands'
neqa 'food'	neqegpet 'our food'	neqpet 'our foods'
kagin 'broom'	kagitegpet 'our broom'	kagitepet 'our brooms'
piugta 'dog'	piugtegpet 'our dog'	piugtepet 'our dogs'
engluq 'house'	englurpet 'our house'	englupet 'our houses'
suk 'person'	sugpet 'our person'	suupet 'our people'

The forms with singular 1., 2., and R. possessor are more complex, showing three different joining types. The 1sg.-sg. ending ~ka has the ~ joining type, where k combines with the stem-final consonant to yield k or q:

nunaka 'my land'
neqka 'my food'
kagiteka 'my broom'
piugteka 'my dog'

engluqa 'my house'
suuka 'my person'

The 2sg.-sg. ending +(e)n, the 1pl.-pl. ending +(e)nka and all the endings beginning with the dual marker +(e)g- belong to the +(e) joining type, and join just like the non-possessed plural +(e)t, dual +(e)k, and relative singular +(e)m. These are the only noun endings of this type. Note, however, that there is a strong tendency to treat these endings as the dropping type, especially in the case of +(e)nka.

	nunan 'your land'
	neqen 'your food'
	kagiten 'your broom'
	piugten 'your dog'
	englun 'your house'
arya'aq 'young woman'	aryagaan 'your young woman' (arya'an)
iqsak 'hook'	iqsiin 'your hook' (iqsan)
suk 'person'	suugen, suu'un 'your person' (sun)
ateq 'name'	atren 'your name' (aten)
saapek 'hat'	sapgen 'your hat' (saapen)

The Rsg.-sg.pl. ending -ni and the 2sg.-pl./du. ending -ten are dropping-type endings like -pet illustrated above.

18.2. E between (nearly) identical consonants

It should by now be clear that the transparent nature of the vowel e (now you see it, now you don't) is responsible for some of the most tricky phonological rules and processes in the language: e-dropping (see 1.5 and 5.4), e-elision and e-reinsertion (see 17.4), as well as the special conditions on voiceless syllables (i.e. syllables containing voiceless e) in the prosodic rules.

An interrelated pair of rules governs what happens when e̱ comes between identical or nearly identical consonants. For the purposes of these rules, ṯ and c̱ count as nearly identical consonants, as do ḵ and q̱.

First, the rule of e̱-dropping (1.5, rule 2b.) may optionally not apply between (nearly) identical consonants. Thus, for example

keneq + -ni > keneni > kenen'i or kenni or ken'i 'his own fire(s)'.

In kenen'i, the e̱ has not dropped, and part 2b of the length rule comes into play (see 1.4): following a stressed syllable ending with voiced e̱, a single consonant is geminated (in this case ṉ). In kenni and ken'i, the e̱ is dropped. In this case, the two ṉ's may either be separately articulated (kenni) or join forces to form a geminate ṉ (ken'i).

If e̱ comes between (nearly) identical stops, a second rule comes into play, called **fricative insertion**: a fricative made in the same place of articulation as the first of these stops (s̱, g̱, ṟ) is inserted. The result is that Ce becomes CeC, a voiceless syllable beginning with a stop and ending with a fricative.

tet > te̱st
tec > te̱sc
kek > ke̱gk
keq > ke̱rq
qek > qe̱rk
qeq > qe̱rq

aprute- + -tek > aprute̱stek 'your (2) roads'.
aprute- + -ci > aprute̱sci 'your (pl.) roads'.

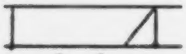
As the following cases illustrate, fricative insertion applies if e̱-dropping does not.

ateq + -tek > atetek > ate̲stek or attek or at'ek 'your (2) names'.
ateq + -ci > ateci > ate̲sci or atci or ac'i 'your (pl.) names'.
neqe- + ~ka > neqeka > neqe̲rka or neqka 'my food'.

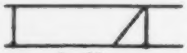
18.3. The postbases +kaq and -lleq

+(g)kaq (N\N) 'future N; that which is to be N'
-lleq (N\N) 'past N; former N; ex-N; deceased N; what used to be N; remains of N'

These postbases may be thought of as specifying tense (i.e. relative time: past and future) for nouns. In fact, they behave like the tense-status postbases of verbs, belonging to the final stress-postponing portion of the word. They are the only nominal postbases other than +(n)ku- (see 7.4) that behave this way. (Note, however, that the e̲ of -lleq is usually either voiceless or dropped. In the example below, for instance, it is voiceless, so that rule 3 fails to apply to lulle̲, but applies to lleqa.)



englurkaqa
'my future house'



englulle̲qa
'my former house'

Note how these postbases are used with kin nouns:

aanagkaa 'her future mother (perhaps unborn, or still young)'
aanallra 'her deceased mother'
wigkaa 'her future husband'
willra 'her ex-husband; her deceased husband'

The noun willra may imply that the couple are no longer married, or that the husband is no longer alive.

Note also

Sun'aq. Kodiak.
Sun'alleq. (the original Russian settlement in) Three Saints' Bay

The Three Saints' Bay settlement was originally called Sun'aq; it was the capital of Russian America. Then when the capital was relocated in Kodiak, the name Sun'aq was transferred to Kodiak as well. Thereafter, Three Saints' Bay was called Sun'alleq 'old Sun'aq'.

The postbase +(g)kaq combines with the "empty" stem pi- to give pikaq, without the "dummy" r.

18.4. The "empty stem" pi- with possessive endings

We have already been introduced to the stem pi- in 9.3. As we have seen, this stem has no meaning of its own, so it is called the "empty stem". For example, the stem pisur- 'to hunt' is composed of the suffix +(r)sur- 'to hunt N' (originally +sur-) added to the noun stem pi-. What does this stem refer to? Obviously nothing in particular--just whatever it is that might be hunted.

The same thing is true of the possessed forms of the stem pi-. These do not refer to any predetermined object, but to whatever it might be supposed that the possessor has. In particular, it refers to something that has just been mentioned. Here are some examples:

Kitum-mi una kaařaa? Whose car is this?
Gui pika. It's mine.

Kitum-mi ukut patřiitai. Whose pictures are these?
Gui pinka. They're mine.

Kitum-mi una pia? Whose is this?
Iwanam pia. It's John's.

Naama Iřinam pik? Where are Irene's 2?
Maři'am pigken caniagni et'uk. They 2 are next to Mary's 2.

Note that these forms of pi- translate as possessive forms without a following noun in English: "mine", "yours", "his", "hers", "its", "whose?", "John's", "Mary's", etc.

Note: For some Kodiak speakers (from Afognak and perhaps elsewhere), pi- may also be used as a positional noun stem meaning something like 'proximity; place by, near':

amii'im piani. near the door (LOC).
kenrem pianun. by the fire (ALL).

Other speakers cannot use this stem in this way, but use cani- instead. For speakers who do use this as a positional noun stem, I am not sure if pi- and cani- have different meanings or are equivalent.

18.5. Review of tense-status postbases

The tense-status postbases fall into three **positional categories**, depending on how close to the ending they occur in relation to one another. The negative postbase -n'ite- (except when combined with +piar-) comes last, closest to the ending, with which it may combine in a special way. For example, the negative postbase has the unique form +(g)ku- before the conjunctive ending in +na-.

The non-witnessed postbase +(u)ma- comes next, following all other tense-status postbases but -n'ite-, and combines with the non-past indicative endings in a special way (see 13.2.1 and 15.1).

All other tense-status postbases and postbase combinations (including -n'illpiar-) precede +(u)ma- and -n'ite-. Following are examples illustrating these postbases and their combinations.

Ag'ut. They're going.
Agumuut. They must be going.
Agen'itut. They're not going.
Agumanitut. They must not be going.

Agen'illpiartut. They aren't going at all.
Agen'illpia'umuut. They must not be going at all.

Agtaartut. They (habitually) go.
Agtaa'umuut. They (reportedly habitually) go.
Agtaan'itut. They (habitually) don't go.
Agtaa'umanitut. They (reportedly habitually) don't go.

Agkutartut. They're going to go.
Agkutaumuut. They're (reportedly) going to go.
Agkutan'itut. They're not going to go.
Agkutaumanitut. They're (reportedly) not going to go.

Agciqut. They will go.
Agciqumuut. They (reportedly) will go.
Agningaitut. They won't go.
Agningaicimuut. They (reportedly) won't go.

Vocabulary for Unit 18

ang'aluni. to go about, travel; to behave, act, conduct oneself
{takes NP[compar] to indicate how}
ang'alluku. to take or carry it about with one; to keep it with one; to have charge of it; to manage it.
all'uku (stem at'e-). to put it (article of clothing) on.
ayuqlluku (stem ayuqe-). to resemble it; to look like it.
canaluku. to make it.
carliaq. offspring; child [in relation to parents]; young, pup.
carliaʳarluku. to take care of it/him/her; to babysit it.
cauluni. to turn (so as to face in another direction).
cauluku. to turn to it (i.e., so as to face it).
caulluku. to turn it (e.g. one's boat, so as to face in another direction).
[literally to turn with it]
cauyaq. musical instrument. [originally drum]
cauyat. music; record, tape, etc.
cauyarluni. to play music; to play a record, tape, etc.
[originally to play the drum]
eglluku. to throw it (away).
imaq. contents. caskam imaa. a cupful. luuskaam imaa. a spoonful.
imangqerlluni. to have some (especially liquid) in it (i.e., have contents).
imangluni. to fill with fluid; to leak (i.e. have water leak into it); to become swollen, infected (e.g. of injury).
imainani. to be empty (i.e., lack contents).
imairluku. to empty it (i.e., remove contents from it).
imirluku. to fill it (i.e., put contents in it).
[takes NP[abl] to indicate what it is filled with]
kitaařaq. guitar.
kitaařarluni. to play the guitar.
patřiitaq. picture, photograph.
patřiitairluku. to take a picture of it.

patřiitaiʳiluni. to take a picture, to take pictures.
pitaq. that which is caught, killed (as game); catch.
pitaqlluku. to catch it, kill it (as game).
pugluni (puge-). to surface; to float to the surface.
qungalluni. to get ready to go (on a trip); to pack up.
tangirnaq. (sand)spit.
tugcaʳaq. portage.
tugcaʳarluni. to portage.
tuumiaqlluku (tuumiaqe-). to hold it.
uuleglluni. to shiver, tremble, shake.

Song of the "Hunter of the Northern Lights"
Collected by A. Pinart in Eagle Harbor, 1872
Retranscribed by Jeff Leer

Piaken-ima aciwartua
    kiuryat pingkut nunaqlliitnek
    wigwimnek
        aciwartua.

[Mayuyaxmiut kuaxaxait]
    wigyuklluki
        aciwartua.

Notes:

1. -ima. [meaning uncertain: seems to indicate vagueness, uncertainty]
2. kiuryat. northern lights.
    nunaqlliq. the landward portion, side.
    kiuryat nunaqlliitnek. from the earthward parts of the northern lights.
3. wigluni (wiig-). to whirl (around).
    [This apparently occurs in the older form wiug̲-, which is still used in the Alaska Peninsula dialect.]
    -mnek. 1.sg.-sg. ABL.
    wigwimnek. from my whirling place.

5. [Mayuyaxmiut kuaxaxait] appears to mean something like "the boys of the kashim performers". I cannot reelicit it.
    [The symbol x̲ may represent g̲ or r̲.]
6. -yuke- to think that ...
    wigyuklluki. thinking that they whirl.

Free translation:

From somewhere up there I descend;
    from the earthward parts of those northern lights up there,
    from where I whirled,
        I descend.

The boys of the kashim performers
    whirl in my imagination as
        I descend.

UNIT 19

19.1. The non-past indicative transitive: endings with 3. subject

Object:	**3sg.**	**3pl.**	**3du.**
Subject:			
3sg.	+(g)aa	+(g)ai	+(g)ak
3pl.	+(g)aat	+(g)ait	
3du.	+(g)aak	+(g)aik	
		[also: +(g)akek]	
1sg.	+(g)aqa	+(g)anka	+(g)agka
1pl.	+(g)arpet	+(g)apet	
1du.	+(g)arpuk	+(g)apuk	
2sg.	+(g)an	+(g)aten	+(g)agken
2pl.	+(g)arci	+(g)aci	
2du.	+(g)artek	+(g)atek	

The 3.-3. endings were already given in 15.1. As we noted there, all forms with third person object are made simply by adding the possessed noun endings to the mood marker +(g)ar-. Thus the above endings are formed by adding the endings in 18.1 to this mood marker. There are no forms with the reflexive endings; this is because the reflexive **refers back** to the subject and cannot **be** the subject itself. [For the same reason, we do not have a reflexive pronouns like "himself" that can be used as subject in standard English; we say "John saw himself" or "John saw it under himself", but not "himself saw John"; and we simply lack forms like "heself".]

We have now introduced all of the non-past indicative transitive endings. If you count them all up, there are 43 different endings, plus a few more optional variants. But we have also seen that there are patterns that may make it easier to remember these endings:

1. Forms with third person object (3.-3., 1.-3., 2.-3.) are made by adding the possessed noun endings to the mood marker.

2. 3.-1. and 3.-2. forms are made by adding the person/number markers for the object to 3.-3. endings (see unit 16). These markers are

1sg. +nga	2sg. +ten, +ken
1pl. +kut	2pl. +ci
1du. +kuk	2du. +tek

3. 1.-2. forms are made by adding the person/number markers for the object to the 1. marker -m-; 2.-1. forms are made by adding them to the 2. marker +pe-, which is followed by +ci- for 2pl. and +teg- for 2du. (see unit 17).

19.2. The -ke- postbases

~ke- (N\V[tr]) 'to have it as one's N':
'for {OBJECT} to be {SUBJECT}'s N; to use it as a N'
-ke- (V[descr]\V[tr]) 'to find it V[descr]':
'for {OBJECT} to be (too) ADJ for {SUBJECT}'

Both the above postbases are difficult to translate into English because in the normal English way of saying things, what is the subject in Alutiiq translates as the possessor or object in English and what is the object in Alutiiq translates as the subject in English.

19.2.1. The postbase ~ke- added to nouns

The first postbase is added to a noun stem to form a transitive verb. Notice how it is translated in the following examples:

aana- mother. aanake- to have as one's mother.
Aanakaqa. She is my mother.
(I have her as my mother.)
Aanakan-qaa? Is she your mother?
(Do you have her as your mother?)

piugte- dog. piugteke- to have as one's dog.
Piugtekarpet. It is our dog.
(We have it as our dog.)
Maksiim-rem piugtekaa. It is Max's dog.
(Max has it as his dog.)

nulir- wife. nuliqe- to have as one's wife.
Nuliqaqa. She is my wife.
(I have her as my wife.)
Nuliqaanga. I am his wife.
(He has me as his wife.)

We have seen that equational sentences whose predicate consists of a NP with a non-possessed noun as head are virtually equivalent to sentences where the head noun is syntactically incorporated into the intransitive verbal postbase ±(ng)u- 'to be N':

(1) Una kaařaq. This is a car.
(2) Una kaařau'uq. This is a car.

In the same way, equational sentences whose predicate consists of a NP with a possessed noun as head are equivalent to sentences where the head noun is syntactically incorporated into the transitive verbal postbase ~ke- 'to have as one's N':

(3) Una kaařaqa. This is my car.
(4) Una kaařaqaqa. This is my car.
[Literally, This I have as my car.]

(5) Una Iwanam englua. This is John's house.
(6) Una Iwanam engluqaa. This is John's house.
[This John has as his house.]

Here again we see the following syntactic parallel between verb and noun:

Noun:	unpossessed	possessed
Verb:	intransitive	transitive

The possessor of a possessed noun is in the relative case, just as the subject of a transitive verb is in the relative case.
The person/number markers of the transitive verb endings with 3. object are the same as the possessive endings of the noun.

Because this parallel between verb and noun types is so fundamental to the grammar of Alutiiq, from now on we will use the term intransitive noun interchangeably with unpossessed noun and transitive noun interchangeably with possessed noun. Similarly, we may use the term object of transitive noun to refer to the possessor of a possessed noun.

The postbase ~ke- may also translate 'to use as (one's) N':

kicaq. anchor.
yaamaq kicaqlluku. to use a rock as an anchor.

iqsak. fish hook.
puláûgkaaq iqsaklluku. to use a safety pin as a hook.

19.2.2. The postbase -ke- added to descriptive verbs

This postbase is added to descriptive verbs to form transitive verbs. Notice again how these verbs translate in English.

ange- to be big. angeke- to find it big; to experience it as big.
Ukuk ulruk angkagka. These pants are (too) big for me.
(These pants, I find them big.)

mikete- to be small. mikellke- to find it small.
Ukut-qaa atkuut mikellkaten? Is this coat (too) small for you?
(This coat (pl.), do you find them small?)

asir- to be good. asike- to find it good; to like it.
Pařag'uutarpuk asikarpuk. I like our 2 boat.
(Our 2 boat, I find it good.)

asiite- to be bad. asiillke- to find it bad; to dislike it.
Neqpet asiillkai. She doesn't like our foods.
(Our foods, she finds them bad.)

pate̮snar- to be cold. pate̮snake- to find it cold.
Maamam pate̮snakaa suupani. Mom's soup is (too) cold for her.
(Mom finds it cold, her [= Mom's] soup.)

Privative te̮ becomes ll before this postbase, just as it does before +piar-.

19.2.3. The postbase -ke- with mental roots

The postbase -ke̮- is also added to the **mental roots**--some of which also occur as intransitive verb stems--introduced in 5.6, forming transitive verbs from them. The combinations may be irregular, and should be learned as distinct lexical items. Compare the following forms:

quya- to be thankful.
quyake- to be thankful to him.

alinge- to be afraid.
    alike- to be afraid of it.

naklleg- (root)
    nakllegyug- to have pity, compassion.
    naklleke- to have pity, compassion on him.

kangiite- (root)
    kangiilyug- to be curious.
    kangiillke- to be curious about it.

ukgûeq. belief, faith. ukgûer- to believe.
    ukgûeqe- to believe it.

19.3. The postbase +suun

+suun (V\N) 'means, instrument, implement, tool for V-ing'
+(r)suun (N\N) '(something) used for N, something that goes on N'

This postbase is added to both intransitive and transitive verb stems, to form nouns that are intransitive (non-possessed) and transitive (possessed), respectively. The intransitive nouns are often lexicalized; they are used to refer to specific implements or tools. If the implement is a complex one, which is often the case, it is usual (but not necessary) for it to be a lexically plural noun. That is, the plural form may refer to one or two objects.

qawar- to sleep.
    qawarsuun. something used for sleeping;
    [lexicalized] sleeping bag.

iqai^{r}i- to wash clothes.
    iqai'isuun. something used to wash clothes.
    iqai'isuun, iqai'isuutet. [lexicalized] washboard; washing machine.

iqair- to wash it (clothing).
 iqairsuutai. something used to wash them (clothes).

minqe- to sew (it).
 mingqe̲suun. something used to sew.
 mingqe̲suun, mingqe̲suutet. [lexicalized] sewing machine.
 mingqe̲suutii. something used to sew it.

Non-lexicalized intransitive nouns ending in +suun are often used to modify other nouns. In this case, they are qualifiers specifying what the head noun is used for.

qitersuun. something used for the rain.
 qitersuutet atkuut. rain coat.
 qitersuun slaapaq. rain hat.
maskařatarsuutet atkuut. clothes used for maskařataq (masquerade).

19.4. More about the postbase +(s)ta

The postbase +(s)ta, like +suun, forms intransitive nouns from intransitive verbs, and transitive nouns from transitive verbs. Compare, for example:

kenirtuq. he/she is cooking.
 kenirta. one who cooks, a cook.
keniraa. he/she is cooking it.
 kenirtii. one who cooks it; one who is cooking it.
 [Literally, its cook.]

ulutegtuq. he/she is watching.
 ulutegta. one who watches, a watcher.
ulutgaanga. he/she is watching me.
 ulutegteka. one who watches me, one who is watching me.
 [Literally, my watcher.]

19.5. The postbases +(s)teke-, +suuteke-, +wike-

+(s)teke- (V[intr]\V[tr]) 'to have/use him/her as a V-er,
an agent for V-ing; to have him/her do the V-ing'
+suuteke- (V[intr]\V[tr]) 'to use it as an instrument for V-ing; to use it to V
with; to V with it'
+wike- (V[intr]\V[tr]) 'to have/use it as a place for V-ing; to V on it'

These three postbases are combinations of the V\N postbases +(s)ta, +suun, and +wik plus the N\V[tr] postbase -ke- introduced in 19.2.1.

ayag- to pole (a boat).
    ayagta. poler.
        ayagteklluku. to use him/her as a poler;
        to have him/her do the poling.
    ayagsuun. something used to pole with.
        ayagsuuteklluku. to use it to pole with; to pole with it.

igar- to write.
    igarta. writer, clerk, scribe.
        igarteklluku. to use him/her as a clerk, scribe;
        to have him/her do the writing.
    igarsuun. something used to write with.
        igarsuuteklluku. to use it to write with;
        to write with it.
    igarwik. place to write; something to write on.
        igarwiklluku. to write on it.

nangarnga- to be standing.
    nangarngawik. place to stand; something to stand on.
        nangarngawiklluku. to stand on it.

Note that one of the meanings of +(u)te- is also 'to V with it'; however, forms with this postbase usually have other meanings as well. The postbase +suuteke-, on the other hand, means specifically 'to V with it' in the sense 'to use it as an instrument for V-ing'. Thus for example, compare ayaulluku 'to pole with it; to pole for him' and ayagsuuteklluku 'to pole with it; to use it to pole with'.

19.6. The postbases +kau-, +yarau-, +yaraite-

+kau- (V\V) 'to be able to V, in a position to V, supposed to V:
can V; could V; would V; should V'
+yarau- (V\V) 'to have to V, need to V; to be supposed to V:
should V, must V'
+yaraite- (V\V) 'to not have to V; to not need to V'

These are tense-status postbases that most often translate as English modals (helping verbs) like 'can', 'could', 'would', 'should', 'must'. They do not correspond one to one with these English modals, so you must look at many examples to get familiar with their meaning. Note that +kau- and +yarau- overlap somewhat in meaning; both can translate 'to be supposed to V: should V', but +yarau- seems to imply a greater and more compelling necessity than +kau-.

The postbase +yaraite- is negative and indeed looks like the negative of +yarau-, but it actually means something different. Compare the affirmative and negative examples of these postbases:

Agkau'ut. They can go. They could go. They would go.
They should go.
Agkaun'itut. They can't go. They couldn't go. They wouldn't go.
They shouldn't go.

Agyarau'ut. They are supposed to go. They need to go.
They must go. They should go.
Agyaraun'itut. They aren't supposed to go. They mustn't go.
They shouldn't go.

Agyaraitut. They don't have to go. They don't need to go.

Thus agyaraun'itut means that it is necessary that they **not** go, whereas agyaraitut means that it is **not** necessary that they go. Of course, +yaraite- may combine with +piar- to yield +yaraillpiar- 'not to have to V at all'.

19.7. Adverbs of place with allrilur-* and kenglur-*

The nouns allriluq, all'iluq 'one' and kengluq 'the wrong one' normally end in weak r, but form adverbs of place with strong r before the ordinary local case endings: allrilurmi, all'ilurmi 'in one place' and kenglurmi 'in the wrong place'.

Vocabulary for Unit 19

Agayun. God.
aliklluku. to be afraid of it; to fear it.
allringur-*, all'ingur-*. one place.
allrilurmi. in one place.
asii'arte-
asii'arlluni. to get wrecked, broken, spoiled.
asii'arlluku. to wreck, break, spoil it.
ayagluni. to pole (a boat). ayagluku. to pole it.
iiʳaq*. devil, evil spirit. [plural: iiraat]
ipi. arm.
iruq. leg.
kangiite- (root)
kangiilyugluni. to be curious.
kangiillkg̱lluku. to be curious about it.
kengluq. the wrong one
kenglutg̱stun. the wrong way.
kenglur-*. the wrong place.
kenglurmi. in the wrong place.
kicaq. anchor. kicarluni. to weigh anchor. kicarluku. to anchor it.
kingu- (N[pos]) place behind, following.
kingua. place behind, following him.
kingullra. after him (i.e. after he has left or come back).
Kingullrakun gui maqimen itg̱rciqua. I'll go in the banya after him.
kinguk. bug, insect.
naklleklluku. to have pity, compassion on him.
Waspataq naklIekikut. Lord, have mercy.
napaq. tree; spruce tree.
qupe- (N[part]) part, half.
qupii. part of it, half of it.
Cali-qaa kuugiamek?--Aa'a, qupiinek. (Do you want) some more coffee?--Yes, half a cup.

qupe-
    quplluni. to split.
    quplluku. to spit it.
qup'arte-
    qup'arlluni. to break.
    qup'arlluku. to break it.
qupuraq. stick (of wood); (piece of) wood.
quyaklluku. to be thankful to him.
ulruk. [dual; stem ulrur-] pants.

AQSI

Sergius Moonin

1 Cali-gûa allriluq nukallpiaq
2 nulingumallria arnamek, arnangia'armek,
3 arnangia'aq cunang-ruq taquka'aq arnaq.
4 Awa'i una nukallpiaq Aqsimek atengqe̲rlluni.

5 Aqsi nupallkiaq taugna,
6 allrilumek tawaten pisuryaumaluni
7 unilluku nulini taugna, qayamikun.
8 Allrilumek pimaluku
9 awa tuqumek ellpengluni tuqukutarniluni.
10 Tuqukuni qayani kiwgesqe̲lluku caqiminek,
11 pisursuutminek,
12 qunguminun llisqe̲lluki,
13 agunirluku qayani tatarte̲piarluku tuqukuni.
14 Niicimaluku tuqungan taug'um taqukaraam arnam.
15 Tuqungan qayaa kiwegluku,
16 qunguan qainganun lliimakai.

17 Ima-ruq qaugciatni takungamiu ercimagkunani
18 qayallra piinani,
19 cali taugna tuqumalleq piinani.
20 Cunang-ruq iqlluluku tuqungua'ucimaluku taugna nulini.
21 Awa naken-mi ikugciqagu?

22 Tawaten kuingn̲g̲uanermini
23 taugna saqullka'angcuk cuungani-ruq aturuarluni,
24 kangircinarpiarluni,
25 "Cii'ik cii'ik, Aqsinkuk tutegtuk."
26 "Kita kita cali, kita cali,"
27 taugna taquka'aq arnaq niugcimaluni.
28 Tawaten pitaarluni,

29 "Cii'ik cii'ik cii'ik, Aqsinkuk tutegtuk."
30 "Nani, nani?"
31 Saqullka'angcuk taugna tengaurluni cuungani,
32 maliglluku,
33 saqullka'angcuk tawaten pitaarluni,
34 "Cii'ik cii'ik, Aqsinkuk tutegtuk."

35 Awa ing'iq mayurluku-ruq,
36 kangranun tekicami acitmen kingyarngami,
37 qutem keluani ciqluaq pu'irluni.
38 Awa tawaken aciwarluni,
39 ciqlluaq taugna ullagluku.
40 Piicimaluni taugna Aqsi tuqulleq willra.
41 Ciqlluamen qinercami
42 mal'uk arnak aqumgalutek ciqlluam ceniini.
43 Kenirlutek cukunasinami angesqami,
44 taangamek maqasqamek imangqe̱rlluni.
45 Tawa'ut cukunasinamen awa kalugllukek arnak, Aqsim nulik, tuqucarlukek.

46 Taumi aipaa tuuluku, pimaluku,
47 "Putunguarluten tuqukina,
48 putunguarluten pugkina."
49 Putunguarluni tuqumaluni.
50 Aipaa tuuluku,
51 "Englaruarluten pugkina tuqukuut."
52 Englaruarluni pugluni.
53 Aqumegkûarlukek taumi tawa'ut ciqlluam ketiinun,
54 caniqlliqllukek tuqumasqak taugkuk nulik.

55 Taumi kita nutaan wiilleni utaqaluku,
56 awa qayakun tailuni mulun'illpiarluni.
57 Tekicamikek taugna cuqllia cingarluku,
58 iquluni.

59 Cali caniqllia cingarluku,
60 iquluni cali.
61 Taumi taug’um awa taqukaraurlluni ketgûarwikluku,
62 "Naama tuqullriaten?
63 Naama tuquniluten uniskugnga?
64 Awa gui tuqunermek nutaan litnaurciqaken."
65 Awa tawaken all’uku urqe̱lluku wiilleni Aqsi,
66 nuliran taqukaraam.

Notes:

1. -gûa (enclitic, hard to translate)
7. -mikun (Rsg.-sg/pl. PERL)
9. tuquq. death.
    ellpengluni. sensing (psychically), having a premonition.
10. ~kuni (conditional, Rsg. intrans.) if he/she(R)...
    kiwegluku. to load it.
    -minek (Rsg.-sg/pl. ABL)
11. -minun (Rsg.-sg/pl. ALL)
13. agunirluku. to outfit it.
16. qunguq. grave.
17. ercimagkunani. before dawn.
19. -lleq. one who has V-ed.
21. +(g)agu (interrogative 3sg.-3sg.)
23. saqullkaʳaq*. (small) bird, songbird.
29. tuteglutek. to sleep together.
36. kingyarluni. to look back (behind oneself), to turn and look.
    kingyarluku. -- at it.
37. pu'irluni. to smoke (i.e. to emit smoke, as a fire).
39. ullagluku. to approach it; to go up to it.
43. cukunaq. cast-iron pot.
45. kaluglluku. to lower it (into water), dunk it.
48. ~kina (future imperative, 2sg. intrans.)
    tuqukina. die (after something else happens)!
55. caniqlliqlluteng. to be side by side.
    caniqlliqlluki. to put them side by side.
56. utaqaluku. to wait for him.
58. cuqlliq* (part N):
    cuqllia. the first one.
    cingarluku. to kiss with the nose.
59. iquluni. to fall over, topple.
60. caniqlliq* (part N):
    caniqllia. the one beside it.

63. naama? remember?
64. +ni- to say that...
    uniskugnga. you left me.
65. tuquneq. dying.
66. all'uni (stem allte-) to fight.
    all'uku. to fight with him.
    urqe̱lluku. to dismember it, take/tear it to pieces.

UNIT 20

20.1. Quantifiers

What we call quantifiers constitute a special grammatical category that behaves partly like nouns and partly like verbs. When they are semantically associated with NP arguments of verbs (i.e. subject or object) or of nouns (i.e. possessor), they stand in a special syntactic relationship with the rest of the clause, which is almost exactly parallel to the relationship of a tightly conjoined dependent clause in the conjunctive mood to the main clause. In fact, the appropriate conjunctive forms of the verb nange- are freely substitutable for forms of the quantifier tamar- 'all' modifying an argument.

Semantically associated with the subject:

Nangluta ag'ukut. We are **all** going.
("we being depleted, we are going.")
Tamamta ag'ukut. (same meaning)

Nangluci ag'uci. You are **all** going.
Tamarpeci ag'uci. (same meaning)

Uswiillraraat **nangluteng** ag'ut. The children are **all** going.
Uswiillraraat **tamarmeng** ag'ut. (same meaning)

Semantically associated with the object:

Nangluta cama'iraakut. She said hello to us **all**.
("depleting us, she said hello to us.")
Tamamta cama'iraakut. (same meaning)

Nangluci cama'iraaci. She said hello to you **all**.
Tamarpeci cama'iraaci. (same meaning)

Uswiillraraat **nangluki** cama'irai. She said hello to **all** the children.
Uswiillraraat **tamaita** cama'irai. (same meaning)

Note that, when semantically associated with an argument, the quantifier can occur only in one form. The endings of this form are, on one hand, almost the same as those of the relative case endings of possessed nouns, and on the other, almost the same as those of the intransitive endings of several dependent verb moods to be introduced later. Furthermore, like the endings of the conjunctive verb mood, the non-reflexive third person (3.) forms are used when the referent of the quantifier is not the subject of the clause, whereas the reflexive third person (R.) forms are used when the referent is the subject of the clause. In short, **R. forms refer to the subject; 3. forms refer to any other argument.**

Following are the complete conjugations of the quantifiers keye- 'only, alone', tamar- 'all', and luucir- 'whole, entire', as well as the forms for the quantifier endings after stems ending in consonants.

	keye- 'only, alone'	tamar- 'all, both'	luucir- 'whole, entire'	Endings
3sg.	ke̲siin	tamiin	luucian	+(ng)an
3pl.	ke̲saita	tamaita	luuciita	+(ng)ita
3du.	ke̲saigta	tamaigta	luuciigta	+(ng)igta
[or		tamarke̲gta	luucirke̲gta	+ke̲gta]
1sg.	kiima	tamarma	luucirma	+ma
1pl.	kimta	tamamta	luucimta	-mta
1du.	kimnuk	tamamnuk	luucimnuk	-mnuk
2sg.	kii'ut	tamarpet	luucirpet	+pet
2pl.	kiugci	tamarpe̲ci	luucirpe̲ci	+pe̲ci
2du.	kiugtek	tamarpe̲tek	luucirpe̲tek	+pe̲tek

Rsg. kiimi	tamarmi	luucirmi	+mi
Rpl. kiimeng	tamarmeng	luucirmeng	+meng
Rdu. kiimek	tamarmek	luucirmek	+mek

[Note that kȩyȩ- is a hypothetical underlying stem, which never occurs as such; it becomes kii- except when the stem-final ȩ- combines with a following vowel, in which case y̱ becomes s̱. This is the only stem that ends in a vowel.]

Here are examples of their use.

Kiima nerua. **Only** I am eating. I am eating **alone**.
Kimnuk ner'ukuk. **Only** we 2 are eating. We 2 are eating **alone**.
Kimta ner'ukut. **Only** we are eating. We are eating **alone**.

Kiimi neraa. **Only** he is eating it. He **alone** is eating it.
Tan'uranguam **kiimi** neraa. **Only** the boy is eating it.

Kȩsiin neraa. He is eating **only** it. He is eating it **alone**.
Křupaaq **kȩsiin** neraa. He is eating **only** the rice.

Tamamnuk ner'ukuk. **Both of us** are eating.
Tamamta ner'ukut. **All of us** are eating.

Luucirma angqȩrtaanga. **All of me** is hurting. I'm hurting **all over**.

Luucirmi arumauq. **The whole thing** is rotten. It's **entirely** rotten.
It's rotten **all over**.
Yaplakaaq **luucirmi** arumauq. **The whole** apple is rotten.

Luucian nerciqaqa. I'll eat **all of it**. I'll eat **the whole thing**.
Yaplakaaq **luucian** nerciqaqa. I'll eat **the whole** apple.

When quantifiers are semantically associated with non-arguments (i.e. NPs that are in cases other than absolutive and relative) they are syntactically treated like qualifiers, agreeing in number and case with the NPs they modify. The person/number/case endings are identical with those of possessed nouns. Since this occurs rather rarely, and since we have not introduced all the possessed endings with the oblique cases, we will not exemplify this type of construction here.

Quantifiers may be modified by the postbase +piar-, which is added to the stem: kirpiar- 'all alone, all by oneself'; tamarpiar- '(absolutely) all'; luucirpiar- '(absolutely) entirely'.

Kirpiarmi kitaařartuq. He's playing the guitar **all by himself**.
Tamarpia'ita asiiilkanka. I dislike them **each and every one**.
Luucirpiarma qikuullrianga. I was muddy **from head to toe**.

Note also that the local case forms of the 3sg.-sg. possessed forms of tamar- are used to translate 'everywhere, all over':

Tamiini wamtaartut. They play **everywhere, all over**.
Tamiinun aiwitaartua. I (habitually) go **everywhere, all over** by boat.
Tamiinek taillriit suu'ut. People came **from everywhere, from all over**.
Tamiikun kuingnguartaartukuk. We 2 walk **around everywhere**.

What we have up till now called the personal pronouns behave very much like quantifiers and should probably be included in this category (rather than in the category of nouns). Like quantifiers, they have only a single form that associates semantically with arguments, but when they are semantically associated with non-arguments, they take person/number/case endings characteristic of possessed nouns.

20.2. The postbase +tuuma-

+(r)tuuma- (N\V[descr]) 'to be complete with N; to have N on/in one; to be wearing N'
+(r)tuumar- (N\Q) 'complete with N; N and all'

These postbases are typically used with nouns that denote objects that are closely associated with something, for example, something that a person is wearing, or a built-in appliance of a structure or object.

atkuut. clothes; coat.
  Atkugtuumauq. He/she has a coat on.
  Atkugtuumarmi aq'alallria. He/she fell in the water, coat and all.
  Atkugtuumaan imarmen egciiqaqa. I'll throw him in the water, coat and all.

naniq. light.
  Engluat nanirtuumauq. Their house has a light on.

20.3. The postbase ~qlliq*

~qlliq* (N[positional]\N[part]) 'N-ward one; N-ward part'
~qllirpaaq (N[positional\N) 'N-most one, N-most part'

The postposition ~qlliq* creates a part noun from a positional noun stem.

cuu- front; bow.
  cuqlliq*
  cuqllia. the one before it; the first (of two); the front part of it.
  cuqlliat the one before them; the first (of more than three)
  cuqllirpaaq. the first one.

kingu- rear; stern.

kinguqlliq*
kinguqllia. the one following it; the last (of two); the rear part of it.
kinguqlliat. the one following them; the last (of more than three).
kinguqllirpaaq. the last one.

qule- place above.
quleqlliq*, qull'iq*.
quleqllia, qullia. the one above it; the upper part of it.
quleqllirpaaq, qull'irpaaq. the uppermost one/part.

aci- place below.
aciqlliq*, atlliq*.
aciqllia, atllia. the one below it; the lower part of it.
aciqllirpaaq; atllirpaaq. the lowermost one/part.

Note that some positional nouns have special contracted forms with these postbases, like qull'iq* and atlliq*.

20.4. Forming reciprocal verbs with +(u)te-

Most of the uses of the postbase +(u)te- that we have looked at so far are ones where a new object is added to the verb; if the verb is intransitive, it becomes transitive (see 13.5.1-3). We have seen, however, that with some common transitive verbs denoting **acquisition**, the corresponding intransitive verb is formed by adding +(u)te- (see 13.5.4). With these verbs, it would seem, strangely enough, that this postbase **removes** an object rather than adding one. However, this is not exactly what is going on. In fact, the postbase does replace the object of the original verb with a new object:

ikugluni. to find it. [The object denotes what is found.]
Ikuaqa mayaciik. I found the ball.
ikuulluku. to find something for him/her. [The object denotes who benefits from the finding.]
Ikuutanka aryaanguat mayaciigmek. I found a ball for the girls.

Since this verb with +(u)te- is patientive, its intransitive forms are reflexive in meaning (see 15.4):

Ikuutua mayaciigmek. I found a ball for myself.

But when one acquires something, the default case is that one acquires it **for oneself**. Thus the intransitive form of the verb with +(u)te- has come to mean that one acquires something, without meaning specifically "for oneself".

Ikuutua mayaciigmek. I found a ball.

The intransitive forms of verbs with +(u)te- may also translate as **reciprocals**, i.e. meaning that agents perform the action on each other or on one another. To see why this is, consider that this postbase can denote that an action is done "with" someone or something. Since the subject and object are in a mutual relationship in this case (i.e. if I do something with you, then you are also doing it with me), the intransitive form translates as a reciprocal:

aturluni. to sing.
    Aturtua. I am singing.
atuulluku. to sing with him/her.
    Atuutamken. I am singing with you.
    Atuutukuk. We 2 are singing with each other.
        We 2 are singing together.

With transitive verbs, if this postbase is used with intransitive endings indicating a plural or dual subject, it usually denotes that the subjects are acting on one another or on each other:

tangerlluku. to see it.
    Tangraqa. I see him/her.
tangrullutek. to see each other.
    Tangrutukuk. We 2 see each other.
tangrulluteng. to see one another.

Tangrutut. They see one another.

qunuklluku. to love it.
Qunukamken. I love you.
qunukullutek. to love each other.
Qunukututek-qaa? Do you 2 love each other?
qunukulluteng. to love one another.
Qunukute̲kau'ukut. We should love one another.

Note: Such forms may, however, denote that the agents are acting "with" or "for" one another or each other.

Ikuutukuk. We 2 found each other.
We 2 found some for each other.
Ikuutukuk pikiutnek. We 2 found presents for each other.

Note what happens when this postbase is added to the postbase ~ke-:

ila. relative.
ilaklluku. to have him/her as a relative. to be related to him/her.
ilakulluteng. to be related to one another.
ilakute̲sqat. ones that are related to one another; relatives.

With kinship terms that differ for sex or age, one member of an opposing pair is chosen as the stem for this type of construction. Note that a literal translation does not quite make sense. For example, uyu'aqutesqak does not mean precisely those who are younger siblings to each other; obviously, one would have to be younger and the other one would have to be older.

uyu'aq. younger sibling (brother or sister).
uyu'aqlluku. to have him/her as a younger sibling.
uyu'aqullutek. to have each other as siblings; to be siblings to each other.

uyu’aqute̲sqak. 2 ones that are siblings to each other; 2 siblings.

The same principle applies to part nouns that occur in opposing pairs. For example, it is logically true that if you have a stack of objects, not all of them can be on top of the others. In particular, one of them has to be on the bottom. Nevertheless, we can say that the objects are stacked "on top of one another."

qull’iq*. upper one/part.
  qull’iqlluku. to have it as the upper one/part.
  qull’iqulluteng. for them to be one above the other, one on top of the other, stacked up in a pile.

kinguqlliq*. following one/part.
  kinguqlliqlluku. to have it as the following one/part.
  kinguqlliqulluteng. for them to be one after the other, lined up in a row.

caniqlliq*. neighboring one; one beside, next to.
  caniqlliqlluku. to have it beside, next to one.
  caniqlliqullutek. for them 2 to be beside each other, side by side.

These verbs can also be used transitively.

Caniqlliqullukek llii’ak. She is putting them 2 side by side.

20.5. The postbase +yar- with verbs of striking

The postbase +yar- is added to verbs of striking, shooting, spearing, etc. to form verbs of attempted striking that usually translate ’to V at it’:

piqerluku. to hit it (by slapping).
  piqeryarluku. to slap at it.

milurluku. to hit it (by throwing something at it).
  miluryarluku. to throw something at it.

nutegluku. to shoot it (with a gun).
  nutegyarluku. to shoot at it.

piteglluku. to shoot it (with bow and arrow).
  pitegcarluku. to shoot at it.

20.6. The hortative with +nuur-

Hortative forms with third person subjects are made by adding the non-past indicative endings to the postbase +nuur-. The third person hortative expresses a command, and translates 'let ... V'. It is quite rare.

Tainuurtuq. Let him/her come.
Tainuuraa. Let him/her bring it.
Tainuurai. Let him/her bring them.

The transitive hortative with first person subject is also firmed by adding the transitive non-past indicative endings to +nuur-, but there is an irregular contraction like that found with the non-witnessed postbase (+(u)ma-) followed by the transitive non-past indicative endings: the final r of +nuur- and the following a of the ending are dropped. Hence, for example, we find 1sg.-3sg. +nuuqa instead of +nuu'aqa. Examples:

Ikugnuuqa. Let me find it.
Ikugnuunka. Let me find them.

Tuunuurpet. Let's take it.
Tuunuupet. Let's take them.

Ikayurnuumken. Let me help you.
Ikayurnuumci. Let me help you folks.

The intransitive hortative with first person subject has already been partly introduced in 9.2. The full set of endings is

1sg. +lii(nga) 'let me V'
1pl. +lita 'let's V'
1du. +linuk 'let's 2 V'

Iterlii. Let me go in.
Iterlita. Let's go in.
Iterlinuk. Let's 2 go in.

In interrogative sentences, the hortative translates as 'should ... V?':

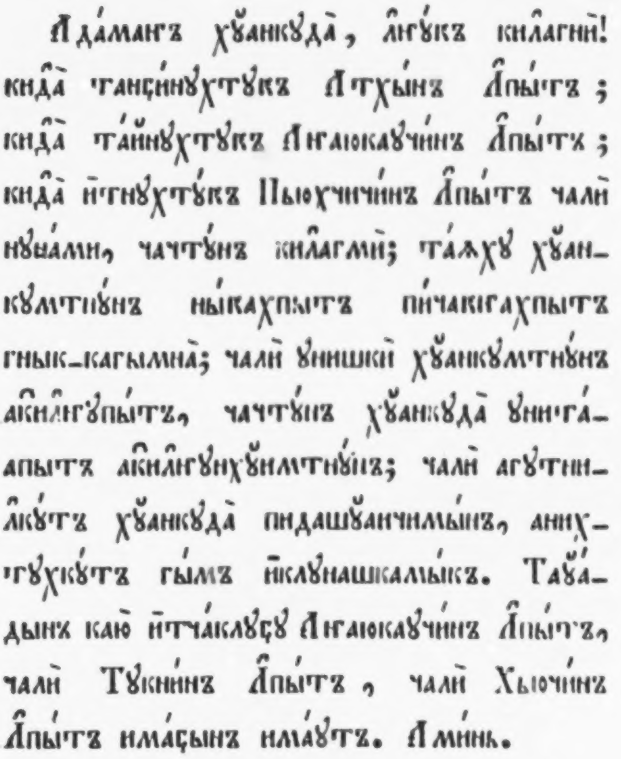
Iterlii-qaa? Should I go in?
Iterlita-qaa? Should we go in?
Englut naliatnun iterlita? Which house should we go into?
Ullagnuupek-qaa? Should we 2 approach them?

Vocabulary for Unit 20

- agunaq. article of clothing; implement, tool, weapon.
  - agunat. clothing; implements.
  - agunirluku. to give him clothing to take along; to outfit it with implements.
- allte-
  - all'utek. to fight (each other).
  - all'uku. to fight it.
- aw'arluni. to move over, get out of the way.
  - Aw'a! Move over! Get out of the way!
- katurte-
  - katurlluteng. to gather, get together, have a meeting.
  - katurlluki. to gather them, get them together.
- kege- [with optional devoicing of following fricatives, see 10.5]
  - keglluni, kegluni. to bite.
  - keglluku, kegluku. to bite it.
  - kegsarluku, kegyarluku. to (take a) bite at it.
- kiawarluni. to go, come (further) inside (of one who is at the door or already inside).
  - Kiawaa! Come on in! (Don't just stand by the door!)
- kingyar-
  - kingyarluni. to turn and look.
  - kingyarluku. to turn and look at it.
- kuarci-
  - kuarciluni. to start the banya.
  - kuarciluku. to start the banya for him/her.
- nuqlluku (stem nuuqe-). to invite, ask him/her over.
- piřuk. fish pie.
- qangiraanek. for the first time in a long time; not for a long time.
  - Qangiraanek tangramken. I haven't seen you in a long time.

qunguq. grave.
qungurluku. to bury him/her.
qunguiluteng. to have a burial (service).
sikiaq. roasted salt fish.
sikiarluni. to roast salt fish.
sikiarluku. to roast it (salt fish).
sulunaq. salt fish.
sungcarluku. to heal, to doctor, treat him/her (as a healer).
sungca'iluni (stem sungca^{r}i-). to heal, doctor, treat someone/people.
sungca'ista. healer, doctor.
sungca'iwik. hospital.
ullagluku. to approach it. to go over to it.

ATAMAANG GUANGKUTA
THE LORD'S PRAYER



Ада́манъ хꙋ̆анкꙋда̀, а̑нгꙋ́къ кила̑гни̑!
кида̑ ’танҁи́ннꙋхтꙋкъ А’тхы́нъ А̑пы’гъ ;
кида̑ ’та́йннꙋхтꙋкъ Ангаюкаꙋчи́нъ А̑пы́’тъ ;
кида̑ и̅’тнꙋхтꙋ́къ Пыюхчичи́нъ А̑пы́’тъ чали̑
нꙋна́ми, чачтꙋ́нъ кила̑гми̑; ’та́ахꙋ хꙋ̆ан-
кꙋмтинꙋ́нъ ны́кахпытъ пи́чакигахпытъ
гнык-кагымна̀; чали̑ ꙋнишки̑ хꙋ̆анкꙋмтнꙋ́нъ
а̑кни̑лнгꙋпы́тъ, чачтꙋ́нъ хꙋ̆анкꙋда̑ ꙋни’га́-
апытъ а̑кни̑лнгꙋнхꙋ̆нимтнꙋ́нъ; чали̑ агꙋтни-
а̑лкꙋ́тъ хꙋ̆анкꙋда̀ пидашꙋ̆анчимы́нъ, аних-
’гꙋхкꙋ́тъ гы́мъ и̅клꙋнашкамы́къ. Таꙋ̆а́-
дынъ каю̀ и̅’тча́клꙋҁꙋ Ангаюкаꙋчи́нъ А̑пы́тъ,
чали̑ Тꙋкни́нъ А̑пы́тъ , чали̑ Хьючи́нъ
А̑пы́тъ има́ҁынъ има́ꙋтъ. Ами́нь.

Atamaang guangkuta, elgnuq qilagni!
kita tanqi'inuurtuq Atren Ellpet; kita tainuurtuq Angayuqaucin Ellpet;
kita enuurtuq Piugcicin Ellpet cali nunami, castun qilagmi;
taayaru guangkumtenun neqkarpet piicakengarpet erneq qakemna;
cali uniski guangkumtenun akiilngupet,
castun guangkuta unitaa'apet akiilngungqergwimtenun;
cali agutenillkut guangkuta pitasua'icimen,
anirturkut-gem iqllungasqamek.

Tawaten qayu ecaaqlluku Angayuqaucin Ellpet,
cali Tuknin Ellpet, cali Eryucin Ellpet imaken ima'ut.
Amin.

Notes:

1. -maang (first person possessed vocative suffix) O my …; O our …
2. tanqigluni (V[descr]). to be bright, holy.
        tanqi'iluni. to become bright, holy.
    angayuqauciq (biblical). kingdom.
3. piugciluni. to want (some). to want to (go, do something).
    piugciciq. will.
4. ~kengaq. (V[tr]\N[tr]). that which is V-ed [by the possessor].
    qakemna. that one outside there.
5. unilluku. to leave it. to forgive it.
    akiilnguq*. debt.
6. agutenillkut. don't take us.
    pitasuarluku. to test, try it.
        pitasua'iluni. to test, try something or someone.
        pitasua'iciq. testing, temptation.
7. anirturluku. to save, rescue it.
        Anirturkut. Save us.
    iqllungarluni (V[descr]). to be a liar.
8. ecaaqlluku. because it is.
9. tukniq. strength.
    eryuciq (biblical). glory.
    imaken ima'ut (biblical). forever and ever.
        [literally, from somewhere unknown to somewhere unknown.]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. Noun Endings. Jeff Leer, ANLC

Argument cases:

	ABSOLUTIVE			**RELATIVE**		
	singular	**plural**	**dual**	**singular**	**plural**	**dual**
Non-possessed	--	+(e)t	+(e)k	+(e)m	+(e)t	+(e)k
Possessed by						
3.sg.	+(ng)a	+(ng)i	+(e)k	+(ng)an	+(ng)in[1]	
3.pl.	+(ng)at	+(ng)it		+(ng)ata	+(ng)ita	
3.du.	+(ng)ak	+(ng)ik[2]		+(ng)agta	+(ng)igta[3]	
1.sg.	~ka	+(e)nka	+(e)gka	-ma[4]		
1.pl.	+(g)pet	-pet		-mta		
1.du.	+(g)puk	-puk		-mnuk		
2.sg.	+(e)n	-ten	+(e)gken	+(g)pet[5]		
2.pl.	+(g)ci	-ci		+(g)pe̲ci		
2.du.	+(g)tek	-tek		+(g)pe̲tek		
R.sg.	-ni	-ni	+(e)gni	-mi[6]		
R.pl.	+(g)teng	-teng		-megta		
R.du.	+(g)tek	-tek		-megtek		

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[1] Dual also +(e)gken.

[2] Also -kek.

[3] Also -kegta.

[4] Dual also +(e)gma.

[5] Dual probably also +(e)gpet.

[6] Dual also +(e)gmi.

APPENDIX 1. Noun Endings. Jeff Leer, ANLC

Oblique cases:

	LOCATIVE			**PERLATIVE**		
	singular	**plural**	**dual**	**singular**	**plural**	**dual**
Non-possessed	+mi	+ni	+(e)gni	+kun	+(e)tgun	+(e)gkun
Possessed by						
3.sg.	+(ng)ani	+(ng)ini		+(ng)akun[7]	+(ng)ikun[7]	
3.pl.	+(ng)atni	+(ng)itni		+(ng)atgun[7]	+(ng)itgun[7]	
3.du.	+(ng)agni	+(ng)igni[8]		+(ng)agkun	+(ng)igkun[8]	
1.sg.	-mni			-mkun[7]		
1.pl.	-mte̲n̲i			-mte̲gun[7]		
1.du.	-mte̲gni			-mte̲gkun		
2.sg.	+(g)pe̲n̲i			+(g)pe̲kun[7]		
2.pl.	+(g)pe̲te̲sn̲i			+(g)pe̲te̲sgun		
2.du.	+(g)pe̲te̲gni			+(g)pe̲te̲gkun		
R.sg.	-mini			-mikun[7]		
R.pl.	-megte̲n̲i			-megte̲gun[7]		
R.du.	-megte̲gni			-megte̲gkun		

---

[7] Also with -gun instead of -kun, or vice versa.

[8] Also -kegni, -kegkun.

APPENDIX 1. Noun Endings.

Jeff Leer, ANLC

The allative and ablative are formed after the model of the locative. The comparative uses the case endings +tun and +testun interchangeably. The inclusive uses the case ending +llu (originally an enclitic) for its possessed forms. The non-possessed forms, except for those of singular demonstratives, are supplied by adding the enclitic -llu to the absolutive form of the noun. Singular demonstratives, on the other hand, add -llu to the singular stem, rather than the absolutive singular. The following chart shows the oblique case endings:

	Non-possessed singular	**Other**
Locative	+mi	+ni
Allative	+men	+nun
Ablative	+mek	+nek
Perlative	+kun, +gun	
Comparative	+tun, +te̱stun	
Inclusive	+llu	

APPENDIX 2. Verb Endings. Jeff Leer, ANLC

INTRANSITIVE

	Indicative Present	Indicative Past	Indicative Past (after negative)[9]
3sg.	+(g)/tuq	-llria	lnguq
3pl.	+(g)/tut	-llriit	lngut
3du.	+(g)/tuk	-llriik	lnguk
1sg.	+(g)/tua[10]	-llrianga	lngua[2]
1pl.	+(g)/tukut	-llriakut	lngukut
1du.	+(g)/tukuk	-llriakuk	lngukuk
2sg.	+(g)/tuten	-llriaten	lnguten
2pl.	+(g)/tuci	-llriaci	lnguci
2du.	+(g)/tutek	-llriatek	lngutek

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[9] These are added to the negative postbases and negative descriptive verbs ending in te-; this te- drops before the suffix.

[10] An extra 1sg. marker +nga can optionally be added to these endings. After a single prime vowel, +(g)/tua can appear either as +gua or as +unga; the latter cannot take an extra +nga.

APPENDIX 2. Verb Endings. Jeff Leer, ANLC

	Interrogative	**Optative-Imperative**	**Conjunctive**	**Conjunctive (after negative)**[1]
3sg.	+(g)/ta	+li	+luku	naku
3pl.	+(g)/tat	+lit	+luki	naki
3du.	+(g)/tak	+lik	+lukek	nakek
1sg.	+(y)/cia[2]	+lii[2]	+lua[2]	nii[2]
1pl.	+te̱sta	+lita	+luta	nata
1du.	+te̱sṉuk	+linuk	+lunuk	nanuk
2sg.	+(y)/cit	(+i)[11]	+luten	nak
2pl.	+te̱si	(+i)+ci	+luci	naci
2du.	+te̱stek	(+i)+tek	+lutek	natek
Rsg.			+luni	nani
Rpl.			+lutek	natek
Rdu.			+luteng	nateng

---

[11] The increment +i̱ occurs after stems ending in e̱. There are three different 2sg. endings: +a̱ after stems ending in consonants, +ṉ after stems ending in te̱-, and (+i) after other stems ending in vowels.

APPENDIX 2. Verb Endings. Jeff Leer, ANLC

TRANSITIVE

Indicative Present [All endings preceded by +(g).]

Object:	3sg.	3pl.	3.du.	1.sg.	1.pl.	2.sg.	2.pl.
3sg.	aa	ai	ak	aanga	aakut	aaten	aaci
3pl.	aat	ait		aatnga	aitkut[12]	aaten	aite̲si[13]
3du.	aak	aik[14]		aagnga	"	aagten	"
1sg.	aqa	anka	agka			amken[15]	amci
1pl.	arpet	apet		**[lacking]**		"[16]	"
1du.	arpuk	apuk				"[8]	"
2sg.	an	aten	agken	arpe̲n̲g̲a	arpe̲kut		
2pl.	arci	aci		arpe̲cia[11]	arpe̲cikut	**[lacking]**	
2du.	artek	atek		arpe̲te̲- gennga	arpe̲te̲kut[17]		

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[12] Also aakut, kiikut.

[13] Also aaci, kiici.

[14] Also akek, keqkek.

[15] Also aken.

[16] Also amtegen, kemtegen for some speakers.

[17] Also arpecikut, kuqcikut.

Indicative Past [All endings preceded by ~.]

Object:	**3sg.**	**3pl.**	**3.du.**	**1.sg.**	**1.pl.**	**2.sg.**	**2.pl.**
3sg.	kii	kai	kek	kiinga	kiikut	kiiten	kiici
3pl.	kaat	kait		kiitnga	kaitkut[4]	kiiten	kaite̱si[5]
3du.	kiik	kaik[6]		kiignga	"	kiigten	"
1sg.	ke̱gka	kenka	ke̱gka	[lacking]		kemken	kemci
1pl.	ke̱gpet	ke̱pet				"[8]	"
1du.	ke̱gpuk	ke̱puk				"[8]	"
2sg.	ken	ke̱ten	ke̱gken	kugnga	kugkut	[lacking]	
2pl.	ke̱gci	ke̱ci		kugcia[11]	kugcikut		
2du.	ke̱gtek	ke̱tek		kugte̱gennga	kugte̱kut[9]		

For 1du. and 2du. objects:
replace 1pl. kut with 1du. kuk; 2pl. ci with 2du. te̱k.

APPENDIX 2. Verb Endings. Jeff Leer, ANLC

Transitive Interrogative and Optative-Imperative

Object:	**3sg.**	**3pl.**	**1sg.**	**1pl.**	**2sg.**	**2pl.**
3sg.	(g)u	ki	(ng)a[18]	kut	ten	ci
3pl.	tgu	tki	tnga	tkut	ten	te̲si
3du.	gnegu	gneki	gnenga	"	gten	"
2sg.	(g)u	ki	(ng)a[10]	kut		
2pl.	ciu	ciki	cia[19]	cikut	**[lacking]**	
2du.	te̲gen'gu	te̲genki	te̲gennga	"		

For dual objects: replace 3pl. ki with 3du. kek;
1pl. kut with 1du. kuk; 2pl. ci with 2du. tek.

These endings are preceded by the following mood markers:

Interrogative

(with 3. subject): +(g)ta- [(g) and (ng) remain.]
(with 2sg. subj.): +(y)/ci- [(g) and (ng) drop.]
(with 2pl. subj.): +te̲s- [following c̲ drops.]
(with 2du. subj.): +te̲s- or none

Optative (with 3. subj.): +li- [(g) and (ng) drop.]

Imperative (with 2. subj.): none [(g) and (ng) remain.]

APPENDIX 2. Verb Endings.

Jeff Leer, ANLC

Note that first person subject forms are not given for the transitive interrogative and optative-imperative moods.

1. The 1.-3. transitive interrogative has no special endings; the first person intransitive interrogative endings are used instead, so that the number of the object is not indicated.

2. The 1.-2. transitive interrogative has the mood marker +(y)/ci- followed by the endings 1.-2sg. -mken, 1.-2pl. -mci.

3. The first person transitive interrogative has the mood marker +nuu- or +naa- followed by the first person transitive indicative present endings minus the initial +(g)a-, e.g. 1sg.-3sg. +nuuqa or +naaqa, 1sg.-3pl. +nuunka or +naanka, etc.

APPENDIX 2. Verb Endings.

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Dependent verb moods

	INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE		
		3sg.	3pl.	1sg.
3sg.	+n	+gu	+ki	+nga
3pl.	+ta	+tgu	+tki	+tnga
3du.	+gta	+gnegu	+gneki	+gnenga
1sg.	+ma	-mku	-mki	
1pl.	-mta	-mte̱gu	-mte̱ki	[lacking]
1du.	-mnuk	-mte̱gen'gu	-mte̱genki	
2sg.	+ut	+gu	+ûgki	+ûgnga
	+pet	+pe̱gu	+pe̱ki	+pe̱ṉg̱a
2pl.	+ûgci	+ûgciu	+ûgciki	+ûgcia[11]
	+pe̱ci	+pe̱ciu	+pe̱ciki	+pe̱cia[11]
2du.	+ûgtek	+ûgte̱gen'gu	+ûgte̱genki	+ûgte̱gennga
	+pe̱tek	+pe̱te̱gen'gu	+pe̱te̱genki	+pe̱te̱gennga
Rsg.	+mi	+miu	+miki	+mia[11]
Rpl.	+meng	+megte̱gu	+megte̱ki	+megte̱ṉg̱a
Rdu.	+mek	+megte̱gen'gu	+megte̱genki	+megte̱gennga

APPENDIX 2. Verb Endings. Jeff Leer, ANLC

1pl.	**2sg.**	**2pl.**	**Rsg.**	**Rpl.**
+kut	+ten	+ci	+ni	+teng
+tkut	+ten	+te̲si	+tni	+te̲steng
"	+gten	"	+gni	"
	-mken	-mci	-mni	-mteng
	"	"	-mte̲n̲i	-mte̲steng
	"	"	-mte̲gni	"
+ûgkut +pe̲kut +ûgcikut +pe̲cikut "	**[lacking]**		+ûgni +pe̲n̲i +ûgte̲sn̲i +pe̲te̲sn̲i +ûgte̲gni +pe̲te̲gni	+ûgteng +pe̲teng +ûgte̲steng +pe̲te̲steng "
+miki	+miten	+mici		
+megte̲ki	+megte̲sten	+megte̲si	**[lacking]**	
"	+megte̲gten	"		

Notes:

The forms with second person subject are too irregular to be expressed by one formula, so they are entered in two lines: the top variant occurs after a vowel; the bottom variant after a consonant.

Note also that the û of these endings does not appear after the conditional mood marker ~ku-; this is simply because of the phonological fact that ûg and g do not contrast after the vowel u.

The forms with reflexive subject begin with n instead of m after the conditional marker ~ku-.

These endings are preceded by the following mood markers:

	before 3. subject endings	**before 1./2. subject endings**
Consequential	+nga-	+nga-[20]
Conditional	~ka-	~ku-
Contingent	+(g)aqa-	+(g)aqa-
Concessive	-ngraa-	-ng'ar-
Precessive	+w/pail(y)a-	+w/pail(y)ar-

---

[20] This combines with stem-final te- to yield la- (after a negative postbase or stem) or ca- (elsewhere).

aa'a. yes. {1}
aa'arluni. to say yes. aa'arluku. to say yes to him/her. {13}
aaga- over there, across there EXTENDED. {14}
aakaa (stem aakaar-). older sister. {12}
aci- underside; place under(neath), beneath. {11}
sg.-sg. acia
pl.-pl. aciit
aciqlliq*, atlliq*. one below, lower part. {20}
acitmen. down(ward), (toward) below.
aciqgûa- far below.
aciwarluni. to go down, descend.
Aciwaa! Go down! {6}
aciwaute- to bring, take down.
agayuluni. to pray, to say one's prayers, to cross oneself, to attend church, to celebrate one's feastday or namesday.
Agayuut. It is Sunday. It is a feastday. {5}
agayuneq. Sunday, feast day. {5}
Agayun. God. {19}
agluni (stem age-). to go, leave. {3}
aglluku. to set it in motion, get it started. {16}
agute- to bring, take (somewhere else).
agna. (sg. stem ag'u-, non-sg. stem agku-) that over there, across there EXTENDED. {14}
agnguarluni. to dance. {11}
Ag'ûaneq. Afognak (Island). {6}
agunaq. article of clothing; piece of gear.
agunat. clothing; gear.
agunirluku. to give him clothing, gear to take along; to outfit it with gear. {20}
agyaq. star.
agyirluni. for the stars to shine. {16}
ai? huh? what (did you say)? {1}
aigaq. hand.
aigai. his hands. [Plural may refer to a pair.] {12}

aipaq. mate.
aipaa. the other one (of a pair). the second one.
aipaa... aipaa... the one... the other... {12}
Aipi'in. Tuesday.
Aipiriut. It is Tuesday. {9}
aiwiluni. (stem before a vowel: ayugi-) to go by boat. {6}
akguaʳaq*. evening. akgua'aq. yesterday. {5, 8}
akgua'anra. every evening.
akgua'arpak. this evening.
akgua'aqu. later on this evening. {8}
aki- opposite side, other side; place across. {11}
sg.-sg. akia
akia... akia... one side... the other side... {12}
pl.-pl. akiit
akitmen. (toward) across.
akiqgûa- far across.
akiwar- to go across.
aki(q). a bit = 20 cents. {14}
akiilnguq*. debt. {20T}
akituluni. to be expensive.
akikinani. to be inexpensive, cheap. {5}
akule- midst; place among, between.
sg.-pl. akuliit {11}
akutaq. akutaq. {9}
alagnaq. salmonberry, berry. {2}
alairluni. to show up. {17T}
alarlluni. to make a mistake. {10}
alimaq. dog salmon. {4}
alingluni (stem alinge-). to be afraid, fearful (for the moment). (not V[descr]) {5}
aliklluku. to be afraid of it; to fear it. {19}
Alingnaa! (Indicates fear.)
alingnarluni. to be fearsome, scary, dangerous.
alingnainani. to be not fearsome, innocuous, harmless.

alingtarluni. to be fearful (by nature).

alingtainani. to be fearless. {5}

all'uku (stem at'e-). to put it (article of clothing) on. {18}

alla. other (one), different (one). {7}

allakaq. (N[qual]) different (one). {8}

alle̲rturluku. to warn him/her. {17T}

allrak, all'ak. maybe, perhaps. {1}

allriluq, all'iluq. one. (abl. allrilumek, all'ilumek) {4}

allrilur-*, all'ilur-*. one place.

allrilurmi. in one place. {19}

allte-

all'utek. to fight (each other).

all'uku. to fight it. {20}

alqaq. older sister. {12}

Alutiiq. Alutiiq.

Alutiite̲stun. in Alutiiq. {5}

amaqaayak. humpie. pink salmon. {4}

amiik. door. {7}

aminani. to be skinny, thin in girth. {14}

amiq. skin. {12}

amlerlluteng. to be many; for there to be lots of them. {2}

amutaq. cod. {16}

anaana, anaanaa (stem anaanaar-). aunt.
[Formerly referred only to mother's sister.] {12}

anarluni. to defecate.

anaqsaturluni. to go (to the bathroom) to defecate.

anaqsugluni. to have to to defecate. {6}

Angagkitaqnuuq. Seldovia. {6}

angak, angaa (stem angaar-). uncle.
[Formerly referred only to mother's brother.] {12}

ang'aluni. to go about, travel; to behave, act, conduct oneself
{takes NP[compar] to indicate how}

ang'alluku. to take or carry it about with one; to keep it with one; to have charge of it; to manage it. {18}

ang'aqurluku. to keep [here: as a boyfriend]. {17T}
angayuk. partner, buddy, pal. {12}
angayuqauciq (biblical). kingdom. {20T}
angilluni. to return, go back/home, come back/home. {8}
angli. lots, a lot, a whole bunch. {1}
angluni (stem ange-). to be big, large, grown up, an adult. {2}
angqe̱rlluni. to hurt. to be sore. {13}
angu! don't! {1}
angun. old man. (stem: angute-)
    angutet. old men. {2}
    angute̱qiitak. male. {17T}
aningaa (stem aningaar-). older brother. {12}
anirturluku. to save, rescue it. {20T}
aniuq. (piece of) fallen snow.
    aniuluku. to be covered with snow, snowy. {16}
anluni (stem ane-). to go out, come out.
    Ani! Go out! {4}
    anlluku. to put it out. to take it out
    (from an opening or enclosure).
    [But not out of a vessel or container, cf. yuuluku.] {16}
anngaq. older brother. {12}
Anwik. Monk's Lagoon. {6}
apaa (stem apaar-). grandfather. {9}
aperluku. to call it by name, to name it (designate it by name),
    to say it out loud, to pronounce it. {16}
aprun. trail, path, road, street. {11}
apte-
    aplluni. to ask.
    aplluku. to ask him. {10}
aqg aluku. to go and get it, fetch it. {takes NP[all} {10}
    aqgûalluni. to go and get (some). to fetch (some).
    [takes obl. obj.] {4}
aqllaq. wind.
    aqllarlluni or aqllangluni. for it to be windy.

for the wind to be blowing. {6}

aqllaurlluku. for the wind to start blowing.
aqllai'ulluni. for the wind to stop blowing. {17}
aqsaq. belly. {12}
aqsiqe- to have a bellyache, stomachache.
aqumluni (stem aqume-). to sit down.
Aqumi! Sit down! {4}
aqumgaluni. to be sitting. {8}
arin. mitten. {12}
arnaq. woman. {2}
arn̲aq. sea otter. {15}
artunarluni. to be heavy. {14}
arwilgen. six. (abl. arwilegnek) {4}
arwilgat. sixth.
arya^{g}aq*. girl, young woman. {2}
ařapaq. rubber boot, hip boot, shoepack. {11}
asirluni. to be good, nice, fine, okay.
asiinani. to be bad, no good. {2}
asii'arte-
asii'arlluni. to get wrecked, broken, spoiled.
asii'arlluku. to wreck, break, spoil it. {19}
asiillke̲lluku (asiillke-) to dislike it; to feel it is bad. {17}
asiklluku. (asike-) to like it; to feel it is good. {17}
asircarluku. to fix it. {15}
asuq. pot. {11}
ata. father. {12}
ata. Let's see. Let me see. Excuse me
(let me by; let me have it; let me see it). {1}
ata-gûa, taagûa. this time; now for a change
Ata-gûa! Taagûa! This is more like it! {12}
atakuu. in a (little) while, in a few minutes. {8}
atakuunguaqu. later on. {8}
aterluni. to go out

(toward open water or out to a boat from shore). {10}
atkuut (stem atkug-). coat, clothing (also atkuk for 'coat')
atkugluni. to put his clothes/coat on.
atkuirluni. to take his clothes/coat off. {9}
atlliq*. (see aci-)
atmak. backpack. {13T, 15T}
atrarngaluni. to be lowered.
qula allrilumek atrarngaluni. eleven. (archaic).
qula mal'ugnek atrarngaluni. twelve. (archaic). {14}
atur-
aturluni. to sing. {7}
aturluku. to sing it.
aturluku. to use it. {15}
aulairluni. to cease, stop.
[This refers to stopping an action, not stopping motion.] {9}
aularnirluni. to start.
[takes obl. obj. or tightly conjoined clause] {9}
auluke-
aulukllluku. to look after it, take care of it. {15}
aure- [with optional devoicing of following fricatives, see 10.5]
aurlluni. to crawl. {10}
aw'arluni. to move over, get out of the way.
Aw'a! Move over! Get out of the way! {20}
awa'i. now, already; (in narrative) then
[Awa'i may be used with non-past or past tense:]
Piturtua awa'i. I'm eating now. I'm already eating.
Pitullrianga awa'i. I ate already. {7}
Awa ai? Awa-qaa (ai)? Is that it (now)? Is that all (now)?
Goodbye. {1}
awaqutaq. son. {12}
awate- periphery; place surrounding, around.
sg.-sg. awatii
pl.-pl. awatait {11}
aya'iluku. to desire to have it. {13T}

ayaa! ouch! {1}
ayagluni. to pole (a boat). ayagluku. to pole it. {19}
ayuqlluku (stem ayuqe-). to resemble it; to look like it. {18}
ca-
caluni (ca-). to have what happen to it?
for what to be the matter with it?
Cait? What's the matter with you? What happened to you?
Cate̲si? (2pl.)
Cate̲stek? (2du.) {17}
caluku. to have what happen to it? to have something happen to it. {15T}
ca. I don't know. {1}
caayuq. tea.
caayurluni. to drink tea. {6}
cakuciq? what kind? some kind. {6}
cali. again. also, too; some more.
Cali ner'uq. Ner'uq cali. He's eating again.
Gui cali. Me too. {1, 3}
caliluni. to do what? to do something.
Cali'it? What are you doing?
Calite̲si? What are you guys doing?
Calite̲stek? What are you 2 doing? {3}
cama'i. hi. hello. {1}
cama'irluni. to say hello. cama'irluku. to say hello to him/her. {13}
cami. when? (used with habitual verb forms)
Cami tengtaartut? When do they fly (habitually)? {5}
canainani. for it not to matter. for it to be all right. {1}
canaluku. to make it. {18}
cani- place beside, next to, by.
sg.-sg. cania
pl.-pl. caniit {11}
caniqlliq*. neighboring one; one beside, next to.
caniqlliqlluku. to have it beside, next to one.
caniqlliqllutek. for them 2 to be side by side. {20}

caqiq? what? (also caqiiq? or caqii?). caqiq. something; thing.
caqit? or caqiit? what (pl.)? caqit. things. {2}
caqtarluku. to tear it apart. {17T}
carliaq. offspring; child [in relation to parents]; young, pup.
carliaʳarluku. to take care of it/him/her; to babysit it. {18}
casaaq. hour.
casaarlluni. to spend an hour. {takes NP[num, abl]}
casaat. clock, watch. {9}
castun? (also casten? or cesten?) how? {9}
casurluni? to hunt for what? to search, look for what? {5}
caturluni? to consume what? to eat, drink what? {5}
cauluni. to turn (so as to face in another direction).
cauluku. to turn to it (i.e., so as to face it).
caulluku. to turn it (e.g. one's boat, so as to face in another direction).
[literally to turn with it] {18}
cauyaq. musical instrument. [originally drum]
cauyat. music; record, tape, etc.
cauyarluni. to play music; to play a record, tape, etc.
[originally to play the drum] {18}
cene- side; bank, shore.
sg.-sg. cenii, cenii
pl.-pl. cenait, cenait {11}
cigúutkaaq. tuberculosis.
cigúutkaarluku. to have tuberculosis. {16}
cikuq. (piece of) ice.
cikuluku. to be covered with ice, icy. {16}
cingarluku. to kiss with the nose. {19T}
cipte-
ciplluni. to go over, exceed (a certain amount).
ciplluku. to exceed it; to beat him/her (by a certain amount).
{Takes NP[abl] for the amount} {14}
qula allrilumek ciplluku. eleven.
qula mal'ugnek ciplluku. twelve.

suinaq qulnek ciplluku. thirty. (archaic)
mal'uk suinaak qulnek ciplluku. fifty. (archaic).
ciqiluku. to throw water on it.
ciqilluni. to throw water (on the rocks). {13}
ciqlluaq. barabara. {13T}
Cirniq. Chignik. {6}
cuawak. high-bush blueberry.
cuawiit. high-bush blueberries. {2}
cukaluni. to be fast.
cukainani. to be slow. {5}
cukunaq. cast-iron pot. {19T}
culuk. feather. hair (on the body or pelt: a single hair)
culuut: feathers. hair (on the body), fur. {11}
culugluku, culuumaluni. to be furry. {13T, 16}
culurlluni. to go ashore. {10}
cun (stem cuute-). ear. {12}
cuuciqlluni. to have an earache.
cunang. actually, in reality. {9T}
cungagluni. to be blue or green. {3}
cuu- front, bow (of boat), place before or ahead of.
sg.-sg. cuunga. {14}
cuqlliq*. one before, first.
ciqllirpaaq. the first one. {20}
cuukiiq. sock. {13}
cuyaq. branch. {11T}
cuyaq. branch. limb (of tree). {11}
egkur- (N[pos]). back, head (of a long enclosure: cave, bay). {13T}
eglluku. to throw it (away). {18}
eke-
eklluni. to get in. {takes NP[all]}
eklluku. to put it in. {takes NP[all]} {10}
ell'uni (stem et'e-). to be there, to be home. {3}
elwik, eg'ûik. place where someone/something is. residence.
etaarluni. lives (there). {6}

el'ute-, luute-
    el'ullutek, luullutek. to be, stay, live together.
    el'ulluku, luulluku. to be, stay, live with him/her. {13}
elle- (personal pronoun stem)
    e͓lliin 'he/she/it, him/her/it' {3}
    e͓llaigta 'they 2' {3}
    e͓llaita 'they' {3}
    e͓llpet 'you' {3}
    e͓llpe͓tek 'you 2' {3}
    e͓llpe͓ci 'you guys' {3}
ellpengluni. sensing (psychically), having a premonition. {19T}
elltuʳaq. grandchild. {12}
emaa (stem emaar-). grandmother. {9}
en̲g̲aa! (sniffing sound of bear) {17T}
englarluni. to laugh. {7}
    englaruarluni. to sort of laugh. to smile. {13}
engluq. house. {3}
erlluni. to dawn. {13}
    eryuciq (biblical). glory. {20T}
ermig-
    ermigluku. to wash his/her face.
    ermigluni. to wash one's face. {15}
erneq. day. {5}
    ernerpak. today.
    ernequ. later on today. {8}
ertii (tamiin). every day. {5}
gan (stem gaate-). chest. {12}
giinaq. face. {9T}
gun (stem guute-). tooth. {12}
    guuciqlluni. to have a toothache.
gun (see gûa-).
gut (see gûa-).
gûa-. here RESTRICTED.
    gua'i. here (it is).

gûani. (located) here.
gut. (to) here.
gûaken. from here.
gun. via here. {8}
gûang- (first person personal pronoun stem)
gui 'I, me' {3}
guangkunuk 'we 2, us 2' {3}
guangkuta 'we, us' {3}
gûanirpak. a (little) while ago. not long ago. {7}
gûaten. (NP[compar]) like this.
gûaten piuq. did this. said this. went like this. {9}
gûaterluni. to do, say this. gûaterluku. to do, say this to it. {13}
gui (see gûang-).
i (stem ii-). eye. {12}
iciwaq. a few days ago. {7}
igar-
igarluni. to write. [takes obl. obj., NP[compar]] {8}
igarluku. to write it.
iglluni. to fall. {13}
igtęslluku. to drop it, let it fall. {15}
Ii! Ick! Yecch! {1}
ii'uluni (stem ii^{g}u-). to go around in circles. {17T}
iingalaq. eye.
iingalaruak. (eye)glasses. {11}
Iirak. Eagle Harbor. (dual) {6}
ii^{r}aq*. devil, evil spirit. [plural: iiraat] {19}
ika-. over there, across there RESTRICTED.
ika'i. over there (it is).
ikani. (located) over there.
ika'ut. (to) over there.
ikaken. from over there.
ikagun. via over there. {8}
ikayurluku. to help him/her. {15}
ikna. (sg. stem ik'u-, non-sg. stem ikęgku-) that over there, across there

RESTRICTED. {6}
ikugluku. to find it. {takes NP[loc]} {10}
ikuulluni. found (some). [takes obl. obj.] {4}
ila. part, kin, blood relative, close relative.
ilii. part of it. his/her relative.
ilait. some of them. their relatives. {12}
ilaruaq. relative (distant or fictitious), friend. {12}
ila'arluku (stem: ila^{g}ar-). to join him/her. to go along with him/her. {13}
ila'arluku (stem ila^{g}ar-). to join him,
to go or do something with him. {10}
ilu- inside.
sg.-sg. ilua
pl.-pl. iluit
ilutmen.. (toward) inside; inward.
iluqgûa- far inside.
iluwar- to go (farther) inside. {11}
iluliqlluni. to have internal pain. {12}
ilu^{r}aq. cross-cousin. {15T}
ima. (indicates uncertainty)
natmen ima. somewhere or other. {9T}
ima-naa. I guess. {11T}
imaken ima'ut (biblical). forever and ever. {20T}
[literally, from somewhere unknown to somewhere unknown.]
imaq. contents. caskam imaa. a cupful. luuskaam imaa. a spoonful.
imangqe̲rlluni. to have some (especially liquid) in it
(i.e., have contents).
imangluni. to fill with fluid; to leak (i.e. have water leak
into it); to become swollen, infected (e.g. of injury).
imainani. to be empty (i.e., lack contents).
imairluku. to empty it (i.e., remove contents from it).
imirluku. to fill it (i.e., put contents in it).
[takes NP[abl] to indicate what it is filled with] {18}
imartuluni. to be deep (of water).
imarkinani. to be shallow (of water). {5}

inarlluni. lay down, went to bed.
Inarten! Lie down! Go to bed! {4}
inarngaluni. to be lying down. {8}
inarqurluni. to lie down for the night. to go to bed for the night. {13T}
inglulgen. eight. (abl. inglulegnek) {4}
inglulgat. eighth.
ingriq, ingʳiq. mountain. {10}
iniluku. to hang it. {15}
ipi. arm. {19}
iqalluk. fish (sg.).
iqalluut. fish (pl.). {2}
iqaq. (piece of) dirt.
iqaluku. to be dirty. {16}
iqairluku. to wash it (clothing). {15}
iqllu-
iqlluluni. to lie, cheat; to do it without knowing how;
to do it the wrong way.
iqlluluku. to fool, cheat him/her;
to do it to it the wrong way. {8}
iqllungarluni (V[descr]). to be a liar. {20T}
iqmik. snoose, chewing tobacco. {5}
iqsak. hook (for jigging). iqsagluni. to fish, jig with a hook.
iqsaguaq. hook (for fly fishing), fishing pole.
iqsaguarluni. to fish with a fishing pole. {17}
iqug- end.
sg.-sg. iqua. {14}
iqukllilluni. to reach the end. {9T}
iquluni. to fall over, topple. {19T}
iraluq. moon.
iralirluni. for the moon to shine. {16}
iruq. leg. {19}
isuʳiq. seal. {4}
iter-
iterluni. entered, came in, went in.

Itra! Come in! {4}
iterluku. to enter his place; to walk in on him.
iterlluku. to put it in (to an opening or enclosure).
[But not into a vessel or container, cf. eklluku.] {16}
itgaq. foot.
itgat. feet (2 or more). {11}
itqe̲rlluni. to run inside. {13T}
iwa'aluku. to search, look for it.
iwa'alluni. to search, look for some. [takes obl. obj.] {7}
kaařaq. car. {2}
kaataq. the stick game.
kaatarluteng. to play the stick game.
kaataulluku, kaatalluku. to play the stick game with him/her. {15T}
kaigluni. to be hungry. (not V[descr]) {5}
kaiwiq (stem before a vowel: kayugi-). old woman. {2}
Kal'ut. Karluk. (plural) {6}
kalikaq. piece of paper.
kalikat. paper (pieces, pad, etc.), book. {2}
kaluglluku. to lower it (into water), dunk it. {19T}
kaminaq. heating stove, banya stove. {8}
kan'a. (sg. stem kat'u-, non-sg. stem kanku-) that down there
RESTRICTED. {6}
kana. here (take it). {1}
kana-. down there RESTRICTED.
kana'i. down there (it is).
kanani. (located) down there.
kana'ut. (to) down there.
kanaken. from down there.
kanagun. via down there. {8}
kanagtuluni. to be tall (of person, animal, tree, plant).
kanagkinani. to be short (of person, animal, tree, plant). {5}
kanger- extremity: tip (of branch, etc.); {11}
top, ridge (of house, mountain); head (of river)
sg.-sg. kangra

pl.-pl. kangrit
kangetmen. toward the tip, top, ridge, head.
kangeqgûa- far toward the tip, top, etc.
kangi- head (of bay, river), back (of house, cave, etc.)
sg.-sg. kangia. {14}
kangiite- (root)
kangiilyugluni. to be curious.
kangiillke̱lluku. to be curious about it. {19}
kangiʳaq*. bay. (plural: kangiraat) {10}
kangirci-
kangirciluni. to understand. {5}
kangirciluku. to understand him/her.
kapkaanaq. (steel) trap.
kapkaanarluni. to trap.
kapkaanarluku. to trap it. {15}
kasa'inaq. boss, chief. {13T}
kas'aq. priest. {3}
Kasaakaq. Russian.
Kasaakate̱stun. in Russian. {5}
Kasukuak. Akhiok. {6}
kasuute-
kasuulluni. to marry; to get married.
kasuulluku. to marry him/her; to get married with him/her. {13}
katurte-
katurlluteng. to gather, get together, have a meeting.
katurlluki. to gather them, get them together. {20}
kawirluni. to be red. {3}
kayagnarluni. to be difficult, hard.
kayagnainani. to be easy. {14}
kege- [with optional devoicing of following fricatives, see 10.5]
keglluni, kegluni. to bite.
keglluku, kegluku. to bite it.
kegsarluku, kegyarluku. to (take a) bite at it. {20}
kelu- place back behind (away from the shore or open area);

place aside, out of the way. {11}
sg.-sg. kelua
pl.-pl. keluit
kelutmen. (toward) back, out of the way.
keluqgûa- far back.
keluwar- to go (further) back; to move aside, out of the way.
keneglluku. to press it. {15T}
keneq, ke̱ṉeq. fire. {8}
kenerkaq, ke̱ṉerkaq. piece of wood (especially firewood). {10}
kengluq. the wrong one
kenglute̱stun. the wrong way. {19}
kenglur-*. the wrong place.
kenglurmi. in the wrong place. {19}
kenir-, ke̱ṉir-
kenirluni, ke̱ṉirluni. to cook. [takes obl. obj.] {4}
kenirluku, ke̱ṉirluku. to cook it.
kenlluni. for the tide to go out.
kenyulluku, kenulluku. for the tide to go out on it
(leaving it high and dry). {13}
keplluku (stem kepe-). to cut it (lengthwise). {11T}
ke̱siin, ke̱sai(g)ta. (see keye-)
ke̱siin. only, just, nothing else. {7}
Pektuq ke̱siin. He's only working. He's doing nothing but work.
kete- place out in front (toward the shore or open area). {11}
sg.-sg. ketii
pl.-pl. ketait
ketetmen. (toward) out in front.
keteqgûa-, ketgûa- far out in front.
ketgûar- to go (further) out in front; to take center stage.
keye- only, alone. {20}
ke̱siin. only him/her/it.
ke̱saita. only them.
ke̱saigka. only them (2).
kiima. only me.

kimta. only us.
kimnuk. only us (2).
kii'ut. only you.
kiugci. only you guys.
kiugtek. only you (2).

kia- there to the north, further inside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.)
RESTRICTED. {14}
kiakeq. N or NE (wind).
kiakerluni. for the wind to blow from the N(E). {14}
kiate- place to the N(E).
sg.-sg. kiatii. {14}
kiawarluni. to go, come (further) inside
(of one who is at the door or already inside).
Kiawaa! Come on in! (Don't just stand by the door!) {20}

kiak. summer. {8}

kicaq. anchor.
kicarluni. to weigh anchor. kicarluku. to anchor it. {19}

kii-, kimta, kimnuk. (see keye-).

kina? (sg. stem kitu-, non-sg. stem kinku-, rel. sg. also kia) who?
kina. someone. {2, 6}
kinkut? who (pl.)? kinkut. some people. {2}

kinerlluku. to dry out/up.
kinerngaluni. to be dry, dried. {12}
kinercirluku, kinercarluku. to dry it. {16}

kingu- (N[pos]) place behind, following; rear, stern (of boat). {14}
kingua. place behind, following him.
kingullra. after him (i.e. after he has left or come back).
Kingullrakun gui maqimen ite̲rciqua.
I'll go in the banya after him. {19}
kinguqgûa- way behind, toward the rear.
kinguqlliq*. one following, last one, rear part.
kinguqlliqlluku. to have it as the following one/part.
kinguqlliqulluteng. for them to be one after the other, lined up in a row.

kinguqllirpaaq. the last one.
kingutmen. rearward.
kinguwar- to go (further) behind, toward the rear.
kinguk. bug, insect. {19}
kingyar-
kingyarluni. to turn and look.
kingyarluku. to turn and look at it. {20}
kirpiar- (see keye-).
kita. Go ahead. Come on (do it; let's do it). {1}
kita am! Go ahead! Come on!
kita ai? kita-qaa (ai)? Shall we?
[Both these may roughly correspond to English "Good-bye," except that they ask for a consensus. They are actually more like English "Well (how about it)?" The answer is "Aa'a."]
kitaqaarluni. to say goodbye. kitaqaarluku. to say goodbye to him/her. {13}
kitaařaq. guitar.
kitaařarluni. to play the guitar. {18}
kiugci, kiugtek. (see keye-).
kiugna. (sg. stem kiug'u-, non-sg. stem kiugku-) that to the north, further inside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.) RESTRICTED. {14}
kiuryat. northern lights. {18T}
kiwegluku. to load it. {19T}
kuarci-
kuarciluni. to start the banya.
kuarciluku. to start the banya for him/her. {20}
kugluku (stem kuge-). to dump it (out). {15T}
kugyasiq, kug'asiq. seine net.
kugyasirluni, kug'asirluni. to seine.
kugyasirluku, kug'asirluku. to seine it.
kugyasirta, kug'asirta. seiner (person or boat). {8}
kuik. river, stream, creek. {5}
kuimarluni. to swim. {10}
kula'ir- or kula^{r}ir-

kula'irluni. to visit. {takes NP[all]} {10}
kula'irluku. to visit him/her.
kumlalluku. to freeze.
kumlasngaluni. to be frozen. {12}
kumlacirluku, kumlacarluku. to freeze it. {16}
kunirluku. to chase it away. {17T}
kuřuwaq. cow. {14}
kuugiaq. coffee.
kuugiarluni. to drink coffee. {6}
kuuniq. horse. {14}
kuuřicaaq. chicken. {14}
legta. den. {9}
liite-
liilluni. to learn. [takes obl. obj., NP[compar]]
liilluku. to learn it. {8}
Ling'anaa. I'm sorry. Pardon me. {1}
litnaur-
litnaurluni. to study, learn. {4}
litnaurluku. to study, learn it; to teach him.
litnau'iluni (stem litnau^{r}i-). to teach {3}
luucir- whole, entire. {20}
lla (stem llaa-). outside. the world, universe, weather. {6}
llaate- place outside.
sg.-sg. llaatii
sg.-pl. llaatait
llatmen. (toward) outside. {11}
llangluni (stem llaange-). to come to one's senses,
to (re)gain awareness. [This can refer to one's first
memories: "When I gained awareness, ...".]
llangcarluku. to castigate, punish him/her
(i.e. to act so as to cause him/her to gain awareness). {16}
llegluni (stem llege-). to be stout, big in girth. {14}
lliiluku. to put it. {takes NP[all]} {10}
luuqaanak (Karluk). humpie. pink salmon. {4}

luuskaaq. spoon. {2}
maa- here EXTENDED. {14}
maama (stem maamar-). mom. {9}
macarluni or macangluni. for the sun to shine. {6}
maklluni. got up (from bed, from a recumbent position).
Makten! Get up! {4}
maktaluni. to be up, out of bed. {8}
maligte-
maliglluni. to follow, go along.
maliglluku. to follow him, go (along) with him. {10}
malirqarluku. to chase it. {13T}
mal'uk. two (stem mal'ug-, abl. mal'ugnek) {4}
mallruungin. seven. (abl. mallruunginek) {4}
mallruungiat. seventh.
man'a. (sg. stem mat'u-, non-sg. stem maku-) this EXTENDED. {14}
maqarluni. to be warm, hot (to the touch, of the environment). {5}
maqa'iluni (stem maqa'i-). to be hot. [This refers to perception of one's "inner thermostat" of body heat.] {16}
maqiluni. to take a banya.
to celebrate the eve of one's feastday or namesday. {3}
Maqiut. It is Saturday. It is the eve of a feastday. {5}
maqineq. Saturday, eve of feast day; week. {5}
Masiqsiraq. Port Lions. {6}
Masriq. Port Heiden. {6}
mayarluni. to be thin, skinny, emaciated (lacking flesh or fat).
mayangcarluku. to put him/her on a diet. {16}
mayur-
mayurluni. to climb (up).
Mayua! Climb up! {6}
mayurluku. to climb it.
mayuute- to bring, take up.
mik'nani (stem mikete-). to be small, little, a child. {2}
mill'uni (stem mit'e-). landed (of a bird, plane).
misngaluni. to be landed. {8}

miswik, mig'ûik. landing strip. runway. airport. {6}
milurluku. to hit it by throwing something at it.
[the direct obj. denotes what is hit]
miluulluku. to hit something by throwing it.
[the direct obj. denotes what is thrown] {17}
miluryarluku. to throw something at it. {20}
minarluku. to give (some) to him. {17}
[takes obl. obj. denoting what is given;
the direct obj. denotes who it is given to] {17}
mingqe̱lluni. to sew. mingqe̱lluku. to sew it. {16}
minutaq. minute. {10}
Mřikanaq. English-speaking white person.
Mřikanate̱stun. in English. {5}
mululuni. to take a long time; (to do something) for a long time.
mulugkunani. (to do something) before long. {17}
na-. where? somewhere.
naama? where (is it)?
nani? where at?
natmen? where to?
naken? where from?
natgun? via where? {8}
-naa. you know. [assumes that the listener is familiar with what the speaker is talking about] {11T}
na-aa'i! my (goodness)! oh my! {1}
naama. remember? {17T}
naaqiluni. to read. [takes obl. obj., NP[compar]] {8}
naglluni. to stop. {takes NP[all]}
[This refers to ceasing motion, stopping still.] {10}
naklleg- (root)
nakllegnaa! poor thing! poor you!
nakllegnarluni. to be pitiful.
nakllegnainani. to be not to be pitied.
nakllegtarluni. to be merciful, compassionate.
nakllegtainani. to be merciless. {5}

  naklleklluku. to have pity, compassion on him.
    Waspataq nakllekikut. Lord, have mercy. {19}
Nakniq. Naknek. {6}
naliq. which part? which one? a certain part; a certain one (among a group).
  nalia. which part of it? a certain part of it.
  naliat. which one of them? a certain one among them. {12}
nallu-
  nalluluni. not to know. to be ignorant.
  nalluluku. not to know it. to be ignorant of it. {10}
nalluya'ute-
  nalluya'ulluni. to forget.
  nalluya'ulluku. to forget it. {takes NP[all]} {10}
naneryaq. figure-4 trap. {13T}
nangarlluni. stood up.
  Nangarten! Stand up! {4}
  nangarngaluni. to be standing up.
nange-
  nangluni. to be(come) depleted, be all gone, used up. {7}
  nangluteng. for all of them to do something.
  nangluku. to deplete it, use it all up.
  nangluki. to do something to all of them. {10}
naninani. to be short. {14}
Nanwalek. English Bay. {6}
nanwaq. lake. {11}
napaq. tree. spruce tree. {11}
naqlluku. (stem naaqe-) to read it.
  naaqiluni. to read. {16}
nare-
  narluni. to smell (something).
  narluku. to smell it. {15}
nasquq. head.
  nasqulnguluni. to have a headache. {12}
nate- which part? where in relation to (something)?
  sg.-sg. natii

pl.-pl. natait {11}
nater- (inner) surface of the bottom; floor, ground.
sg.-sg. natra
pl.-pl. natrit {11}
nayurluku. to stay with him/her. {17T}
neqa. (stem neqe-) food.
neqliluni. to prepare a meal.
neqliaq. food prepared for a meal. {17T}
nere-
nerluni. to eat. [takes obl. obj.] {3}
nerluku. to eat it.
niicugni-
niicugniluni. to listen
niicugniluku. to listen to it. {15}
niite-
niilluni. to hear. [takes obl. obj.] {7}
niilluku. to hear it.
niklliq. red salmon. {4}
niuglluni or yuglluni (stem niugte- or yuugte-). to speak, talk.
niugaluni or yuugaluni (stem: niu^{g}a- or yuu^{g}a-). to speak, talk, converse, carry on a conversation. {5}
niu'ulluku. to speak, talk to/with him/her, say to him/her.
niu'uqurluku. to speak to/with him/her, say to him/her. {17T}
nugtarlluni. to move (from one residence to another). {6}
nukallpiaq. man. {2}
nuliq (stem before a vowel: nulir-). wife. {12}
nuna (stem nuna-). land.
nunat. town, village. {4}
nunalek. skipper, pilot. {11}
nunanirluni. to be fun (such that one has fun)
nunaniinani. not to be fun. {14}
nunanirluni. to be fun.
nunaniinani. to be no fun. to be boring.
nunaniqsaagluni. to have fun. {11}

- nunaqlliq. the landward part, side. {18T}
- Nuniaq. Old Harbor. {6}
- nuqlluku (stem nuuqe-). to invite, ask him/her over. {20}
- nuryug-
    - nuryugluni. needs some. [takes obl. obj.]
    - nuryugluku. to need it. {7}
- nutaan. just now. (in narrative also:) (just) then. {10}
- nutaʳaq. (N[qual]) new (one). {8}
- nuteg-
    - nutegluni. to shoot (with gun, rifle).
    - nutegluku. to shoot it (id.). {15}
    - nutegyarluku. to shoot at it. {20}
    - nutek or nutgutaq. gun. {7}
    - nutguaq. staple gun. nutguar- to staple with a staple gun. {17}
- nuusiq. knife. {2}
- nuuyaluni. to hide.
    - nuuyaaq. stash, something hidden. {17T}
- nuyaq. hair (on the head: a single hair).
    - nuyat. hair (on the head). {11}
    - nuyarluku. to be covered with hair, hairy. {16}
- paaga- up there, up on shore (from viewpoint of water) EXTENDED. {14}
- paankaaq. can. {8}
- paapaa (stem paapaar-). father, grandfather. {12}
- pagna. (sg. stem pag'u-, non-sg. stem pagku-) that up there, up on shore (from viewpoint of water) EXTENDED. {14}
- pai- mouth, entrance (of river, bay, inlet).
    - sg.-sg. painga
    - pl.-pl. paingit
    - paitmen. toward the mouth, entrance.
    - paiqgûa- far toward the mouth, entrance.
    - paiwar- to go (further) toward the mouth, entrance. {11}
- pakigluni. to start off. {13T}
- palek, palkaaq. piece of smoked salmon.

palget, palkaat. smoked salmon (more than one piece). {4}
Paluwik. Port Graham. {6}
pani^{g}aq. daughter. {12}
pangalegluni. to crawl. {10}
pařag'uutaq. boat. {7}
pasm̱akiiq. shoe. {11}
pate̱sṉarluni. to be cold (to the touch, of the environment). {5}
patřiitaq. picture, photograph.
patřiitairluku. to take a picture of it.
patřiitai^{r}iluni. to take a picture, to take pictures. {18}
patuq. cover. {15T}
peklluni (stem pekte-). to work. {3}
Pektut. It is Monday. (lit., they are working.) {9}
pekyun. Monday.
pellaluni. to get lost.
pellalluku. to lose it {takes NP[all]} {10}
pe̱ṉaq. cliff, bluff. {11}
pe̱ṉg̱uq. hill. {11}
pe̱rinani. (V[descr]) to be clean.
pe̱rircarluku. to clean it. {15}
Perry-q. Perryville. {6}
petangluni. to start to move. {13T}
pi-
piluni. (1) to go (somewhere: {takes NP[all]})
(2) to do, say (this or that: {takes NP[compar]})
[Compare English "go like this/that" =
"do this/that" or "say this/that"] {9}
piluku. to do to it; to say to him/her.

pia. his/hers (sg.). pi. his/hers (pl).
piat. theirs (sg.). pit. theirs (pl.)
pia (Afognak). proximity; place by, near.
amii'im piani. near the door (LOC).
pia-. up there RESTRICTED.

pia'i. up there (it is).
piani. (located) up there.
pia'ut. (to) up there.
piaken. from up there.
piagun. via up there. {8}
pianeq. immediately. {13T}
picinek. indeed, for sure. {13}
picuuluni. (V[descr]) to be right, correct. {10}
piicag-
piicagluni. to want some, ask for some. [takes obl. obj.] {7}
piicagluku. to want it, ask for it.
piinani. (1) to have none, not to have any. [takes obl. obj.];
(2) for there to be none, for there not to be any;
(3) not to be (there, home).
[Note: Usages (1, 2) are the negative counterpart to pingqerlluni; usage (3) is the negative counterpart to ell'uni.] {7}
pilag-
pilagluku. to butcher it. {15}
pili-
pililuni. to make (some). [takes oblique object]
pililuku. to make (some) for him. [takes oblique object] {13}
pill'uni (stem pit'e-). to catch, kill some. [takes obl. obj.] {7}
pingaklluku (pingake-). to like it. {17}
pingayun. three. (abl. pingayunek) {4}
pingayuak. second (of three). pingayuat. second (of more than three).
Pinga'i'in. Wednesday.
Pinga'iriut. It is Wednesday. {9}
pingluni. to get, acquire (some). [takes oblique object] {13}
pingna. (sg. stem ping'u-, non-sg. stem pingku-) that up there RESTRICTED. {6}
pingqe̲rlluni. (1) to have some. [takes obl. obj.];
(2) for there to be some (there). {7}
piqerluku. to hit it, slap it with the hand or a sticklike

or paddlelike object. [the direct object denotes what is hit]
piqrulluku. to hit, slap something with it.
[the direct object denotes what is used to hit] {17}
piqeryarluku. to slap at it. {20}
piřuk. fish pie. {20}
pisur-
pisurluni. to hunt, fish (for some). [takes obl. obj.] {7}
pisurluku. to hunt, fish for it.
pitaluni. to get (so far); to be (so far along)
{Takes NP[compar] for amount, NP[all] for distance} {14}
pitasuarluku. to test, try it.
pitasua'iluni. to test, try something or someone.
pitasua'iciq. testing, temptation. {20T}
pitaq. that which is caught, killed (as game); catch.
pitaqlluku. to catch it, kill it (as game). {18}
pitaqlluku. to catch it (animal). {13T}
pitegte-
pite̮glluni. to shoot (with bow and arrow).
pite̮glluku. to shoot it (id.). {15}
pite̮gcarluku. to shoot at it. {20}
pitur-
piturluni. to consume; to drink, eat. [takes obl. obj.] {3}
piturluku. to consume it; to drink, eat it.
piugciluni. to want (some). to want to (go, do something).
piugciciq. will. {20T}
piugta (stem piugte-). dog. {2}
plitaaq. cooking stove. {8}
pucuur-
pucuurluku. to kiss him/her.
pucuurlutek. to kiss (each other). {15}
pugluni (puge-). to surface; to float to the surface. {8, 18}
pugtaluni. to be floating. {8}
pu'irluni. to smoke (i.e. to emit smoke, as a fire). {19T}
pupiguaq. pimple. {9T}

putuluni. to pout.
putunguarluni. to sort of pout. to frown. {13}
puyuq. smoke.
puyulek. volcano.
puyuruaq. cigarette (or other smoking tobacco product).
puyuruarluni. to smoke. puyuruarluku. to smoke it. {17}
qai- top, surface, place on top; (surface of) body. {11}
sg.-sg. qainga
pl.-pl. qaingit
qaitmen. toward the surface.
qaikgûa- far toward the surface.
qaiwar- to go toward the surface; to emerge from the water.
qakgûarluku. to beat him, to win it (in gambling). {15T}
qakemna. that one outside there. {20T}
qakma- (N[dem. adv.] out there. {13T, 17T}
qaku? when (in the future)? {8}
qakunguaqu. sometime (in the future). {8}
qalrialuni. to keep shouting, yelling. {13T}
qamluni (stem qame-). to be extinguished; to go out (of a fire, light); to deflate. {8, 15T}
qamlluku. to extinguish it; to put it out; to turn it off. {15}
qaneq. mouth. {12}
qang'a. no. {1}
qangiq. long ago. {7}
qangirllaq. (N[qual]) old (one). {8}
[This refers to an object, not a person or mammal.
An old person or mammal is referred to as angun or kaiwiq.]
qangiraanek. for the first time in a long time;
not for a long time.
Qangiraanek tangramken. I haven't seen you in a long time. {20}
qangwaq? when (in the past)? {7}
qaniq. (falling) snow.
qanirluni or qaningluni. for it to snow. {6}
qaniurlluku. for it to start snowing.

qanii'ulluni. for the snow to stop. {17}
qaterluni. to be white. {3}
qaugcin. how many? so many. (abl. qaugcinek) {4}
qaugciat. how-manyeth? so-manyeth.
qaugna. (sg. stem qaug'u-, non-sg. stem qaugku-) that to the north, further inside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.) EXTENDED. {14}
qawa- there to the north, further inside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.) EXTENDED. {14}
qawarluni. to sleep. {3}
qawarniluni. to be sleepy. (not V[descr]) {5}
qawartarluni. to spend the night. {takes NP[num, abl]} {9}
qayagaurluni. to call out. {13T}
qayaq. kayak, baidarka. {7}
qayu? What (did you say, want)?
Qayu pia? What is he/she doing? What did he/she say? What happened to him/her? {9}
Qayu-mi pit? How are you? {1}
qecengluni (stem qecenge-). to run. {5}
qenaluni. to be sick. (not V[descr]) {1}
qenawik. hospital. {7}
qengaq. nose. {12}
qe̱saluni. to be lazy. {5}
qe̱satarluni. to be lazy (by nature).
qe̱satainani. to be industrious (by nature).
qetgerluni. to jump. {16}
qialuni. to cry. {7}
Qike̱rtaq. Kodiak Island. {6}
qilak. sky, especially cloudy sky; heaven.
qilangluni (qilange-). to be cloudy. {17}
qilugluni. to bark. {17T}
qimaglluku. to chase it away. {17T}
qinerte-
qinerlluni. to look, peer, peek (through an opening, especially into a house or other enclosure) {9}

qinerlluku. to look, peer, peek into it.

qiq (stem qiir-). gray hair (sg.). qiiret. gray hair (pl.)
qirluku. to have gray hair. {16}

qiteq. rain. {6}
qiterluni or qitengluni (stem qiter- or qitenge-). for it to rain.
qitrurlluku. for it to start raining.
qitri'ulluni. for the rain to stop. {17}

qiullria. greenery, vegetable. {17T}

qugtarluni. to get firewood. {10}

quililuni. to be fat, corpulent. {16}

quiriq. marmot. {9T}

qukar- middle, midst, place among or amidst.
sg.-sg. qukaa. {14}

qule- place above, over.
sg.-sg. qulii
pl-pl. qulait
quletmen. upward.
quleqgûa-, qulwa- far above.
quleqlliq*, qull'iq*. one above, upper part. {20}
qull'iqlluku. to have it as the upper one/part.
qull'iqulluteng. for them to be one above the other, one on top of the other, stacked up in a pile.
qulwar- to go upward. to rise. {11}

qulen. ten. (abl. qulnek) {4}
quliit. tenth.

quli'anguaq. story.
quli'anguarluni. to tell (a story).
quli'anguilluku. to tell him (a story). {9T}

quliraulluku. to tell him/her.
[takes oblique object referring to what is told about] {13}

qulnguyan. nine. (abl. qulnguyanek) {4}
qulnguyaat. ninth.

qull'iq*. (see qule-).

qungalluni. to get ready to go (on a trip); to pack up. {18}

qunguq. grave.
    qungurluku. to bury him/her.
    qunguiluteng. to have a burial (service). {20}
qunuklluku (qunuke-). to love it. {17}
qup'arte-
    qup'arlluni. to break.
    qup'arlluku. to break it. {19}
qupe- (N[part]) part, half.
    qupii. part of it, half of it.
    Cali-qaa kuugiamek?--Aa'a, qupiinek.
    (Do you want) some more coffee?--Yes, half a cup. {19}
qupe-
    quplluni. to split.
    quplluku. to split it, divide it in half. {14}
        aipaa quplluku. thirty cents. (archaic).
        pingayuak quplluku. fifty cents. (archaic).
qupuraq. stick (of wood); (piece of) wood. {19}
qure- [with optional devoicing of following fricatives, see 10.5]
    qurlluni. to urinate.
    qursaturluni. to go (to the bathroom) to urinate.
    qursugluni. has to urinate. {6}
quta. beach. (stem: qute-) {6}
qutirluni. to walk on the beach. {15T}
quyaklluku. to be thankful to him. {19}
quyaluni. to be thankful, grateful. (not V[descr]){5}
    quyanaa. thank you. {1}
    quyanarluni. to be thankworthy.
        quyanainani. to be not thankworthy. {5}
        quyanaituq. you're welcome. {1}
        [literally, "It's nothing to be thankful for."]
    quyatarluni. to be thankful, grateful (by nature).
        quyatainani. to be ungrateful. {5}
quyarlluku. to be cold. [This refers to perception of one's "inner thermostat" of body heat.] {16}

ruu^{r}aq*. arrow. {11T}
saapek. cap, hat. {12}
sagiq. halibut {16}
sakaarlluni. to be tired {not V[descr]). {1}
salaq. clam. {13}
Salliitaq. Sitkalidak Island. {6}
saqulgaq*, saqul^{g}aq*. duck, fowl, bird.
  saqulgaat. ducks, birds. {5}
  saqullka^{r}aq*. (small) bird, songbird. {19T}
sarsaluni. to have something hot to drink. to have tea, coffee. {9}
sege-
  segluni. to cut fish.
  segluku. to cut it (fish), operate on him. {15}
sere-
  serluni. to sweat. {15}
serluni (sere-). to sweat. {17}
Sigtunaq. Sitkinak Island. {6}
sikiaq. roasted salt fish.
  sikiarluni. to roast salt fish.
  sikiarluku. to roast it (salt fish). {20}
siqat'ak. (piece of) mud.

  siqat'agluku. to be covered with mud, muddy. {16}
skuuluq. school. {3}
  skuulurluni. to go to school. {6}
slaapaq. hat with a brim. {12}
staaman. four. (abl. staamanek) {4}
  stamiit. fourth.
  Staami'in. Thursday.
  Staamiriut. It is Thursday. {9}
stuulciik. chair. {7}
sugnirluni. to be friendly-looking, genial, happy-faced
  sugniinani. to be unfriendly-looking. {14}
suinani. to have no people. for there not to be anyone there/home. {12}

suinaq. twenty. {14}
suitařaq. sweater. {12}
suk. person. (stem: suug-)
  suuget or suu'ut. people. {2}
  sugte̮stun. in Alutiiq (lit. 'like a person') {5}
sulunaq. salt fish. {20}
Sun'aq. Kodiak (the city). {4}
sungcarluku. to heal, to doctor, treat him/her (as a healer).
  sungca'iluni (stem sungcaʳi-). to heal, doctor,
  treat someone/people.
  sungca'ista. healer, doctor.
  sungca'iwik. hospital. {20}
surte-
  surlluku. to light it, start it burning, turn it on
    (including a lamp, light, stove).
  surlluni. to catch on fire, start burning. {15}
suuluni. was born. {7}
suupaq. soup.
  suuparluni. to eat soup. {5}
taangaq. water. {2}
  taangaruaq. soda pop. {4}
taangayugluni. to thirsty. (not V[descr]) {5}
taari-
  taariluni. to whisk self (in the banya). {9}
  taariluku. to whisk him/her (in the banya).
taata (stem taatar-). dad. {9}
taayarluku or tailluku. to give it here.
  [the direct obj. denotes what is given] {17}
tagluni (stem tage-). to go up, ascend.
  Tagi! Go up! {6}
  tagute- to bring, take up.
tailuni. to come; came.
  Tai! Come! {3}
  taite- to bring (here).

taklluni (stem take-). to be long. {14}
takuluku. to go see it. to go (take a) look at it.
to check on it. {takes NP[all]} {10}
talliman. five. (abl. tallimanek) {4}
tallimiit. fifth.
tallimaq. a dollar. {14}
Tallimi'in. Friday.
Tallimiriut. It is Friday. {9}
tamaa- there (near hearer or location known to speaker and hearer)
EXTENDED. {14}
tamaana. (sg. stem tamaatu-, non-sg. stem tamaaku-) that (near hearer or
location known to speaker and hearer) EXTENDED. {14}
Tamallkuaq. the mainland. {6}
tamallkuk. married couple. {15T}
tamar- all, both. {20}
tamiin, tamai(g)ta. (see tamar-).
tamiin. each, every. (used with a preceding time noun)
maqineq tamiin. every Saturday; every week.
unuk tamiin. every night. {5}
tamlegluni. to be black. {3}
tamuuq. dry fish.
tamuuluni. to eat dry fish. {15}
tan'uraq. boy, young man. (stem: tan'urar-)
tan'uraat. boys. {2}
tange̲r-
tange̲rlluni. to see. {4}
tange̲rlluku. to see it.
Tangri! See! {13T}
tange̲rn̲irluni. to be nice-looking, pretty.
tange̲rn̲iinani. to be ugly. {9T}
tangirnaq. (sand)spit. {18}
tanqigluni (V[descr]). to be bright, holy.
tanqi'iluni. to become bright, holy. {20T}
taq'uq. to be done, finished

(of something that is being prepared, such as food or drink).
taqulluni. to be done, finished (of a person preparing something). {8}
taqmak. dress. {12}
taqukaʳaq*. brown bear.
taqukaraat. brown bear (pl.). {4}
tatarlluni. to become full. {15T}
taugna. (sg. stem taug'u-, non-sg. stem taugku-) that (near hearer or location known to speaker and hearer) RESTRICTED. {2, 6}
taumi. then. {9}
tawa (am). that's enough. {1}
tawa-. there (near hearer or location known to speaker and hearer) RESTRICTED.
tawa'i. there (it is).
tawani. (located) there.
tawa'ut. (to) there.
tawaken. from there; after that.
tawagun. via there. {8}
tawaten. like that.
tawaten piluni. did that. said that. went like that. {9}
tawaterluni. to do, say that. tawaterluku. to do, say that to it. {13}
tegleg-
teglegluni. to steal (some). [takes obl. obj.] {7}
teglegluku. to steal it.
tekite-
tekilluni. to arrive; to make it there. {3}
tekilluku. to arrive at it. to make it to it.
tengluni (stem tenge-). to fly (away). {5}
tengaurluni. to fly (around, along).
tengausqaq. airplane. {8}
tugcaʳaq. portage.
tugcaʳarluni. to portage. {18}
tuik. shoulder. {15T}
tuknigluni (V[descr]). to be strong.

tukniinani. to be weak.
tukniq. strength. {20T}
tung'irluni. for the tide to come in.
tungiulluku. for the tide to come in on it (covering it up). {13}
tunge- place in line (with), in the direction (of).
sg.-sg. tungii. {14}
tuquluni. to die. {7}
tuqumaluni. to be dead. {13}
tuqulluku. to kill it. {15}
tuquq. death. {19T}
tuteglutek. to sleep together. {19T}
tuuluku. to take or buy it. {10}
tuulluni (or te̲gulluni). to take (some); to buy (some). [takes obl. obj.] (Note: this is used for taking by hand, or for buying a portable object and taking it, not for "buying" a fixed object, like a house, nor for an animal taking something in its teeth.) {4}
tuumiaqlluku (tuumiaqe-). to hold it. {18}
tuuřaq. dory, skiff. {3}
u'uglluni. to melt. {13}
u'ugcirluku, u'ugcarluku. to melt it. {16}
uciitilaq or uciitilîaq. teacher. {3}
Ugaasiq. Ugashek. {6}
ugi'i! hey, there! {13T}
ugna (sg. stem ug'u-, non-sg. stem ugku-). that to the south, further outside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.) RESTRICTED. {14}
ugnerkaq. spring. {8}
ugte-
uglluni. to get up (on top).
uglluku. to get up on it. {10}
ugyulluku. to bring, take up (on top).
uksuaq. fall, autumn. {8}
uksuq. winter, year. {8}
uksiluni. to spend the winter. {17T}
uku- (see una).

ullagluku. to approach it. to go over to it. {20}
ulʳuk, ulruk. [dual] (stem ulʳur-) pants. {12}
uluteg-
uluteglunі. to watch.
utegluku. to watch it. {15}
um. (rel sg. of una).
umneq. fog.
umnerluni, umnengluni. for it to be foggy. {11}
una. (sg. stem uu-, non-sg. stem uku-) this RESTRICTED. {2, 6}
una- down there, down on the water (from viewpoint of shore) EXTENDED. {14}
un'a. (sg. stem un'u-, non-sg. stem unku-) that down there, down on the water (from viewpoint of shore) EXTENDED. {14}
unegna. (sg. stem un'gu-, non-sg. stem unegku-) that to the south, further outside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.) EXTENDED. {14}
un'ga- there to the south, further outside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.) EXTENDED. {14}
unguwaluni, ungwaluni. to be alive.
ungwallria, unguwallria. animal. {11}
unilluku. to leave it. to forgive it. {takes NP[all]} {10, 20T}
unuaq. morning. {5}
unuanra. every morning.
unuarpak. this morning.
unuaqu. tomorrow. {8}
unuk. night. (also: last night) {5}
ununra. every night.
unugpak. (earlier) tonight, last night.
unuku. later on tonight. {8}
uqegnani (stem: uqegte-) to be light (in weight). {14}
uqnarluni. to be hot (such that it burns or causes a burning sensation). {8}
uqrûik. alder. {11}
uquq. oil, grease, fat.
uqirluku. to put oil on it. to dip it in oil. to oil it. {13}

uriitaq. chiton, bidarky. {5}
urqe̲lluku (stem urqe-). to dismember, shred it. {17T}
uswiillraʳaq* or usiiillraʳaq*. child. us(w)iillraraat. children. {8}
utaqalir-
    utaqalirluni. to wait.
    utaqalirluku. to wait for it. {17}
utaqaluku. to wait for him. {19T}
uulegllluni. to shiver, tremble, shake. {18}
uu- (see una).
    uumi. this (coming) time. next time.
    uumi Agayunermi. this (coming) Sunday. next Sunday. {8}
Uusenkaaq. Ouzenkie. {6}
uutuk. sea urchin. {13}
Uyaqsaq. Larsen Bay. {6}
uyuʳaq. younger brother or sister. {12}
waa- there to the south, further outside (inlet, bay, river, house, etc.)
    RESTRICTED. {14}
    waakeq. S or SW (wind).
    waakerluni. for the wind to blow from the S(W). {14}
    waate- place to the S(W).
        sg.-sg. waatii. {14}
wamluni (stem waame-). to play. {3}
wi (stem wii-). husband. {12}
wigluni (stem wiig-). to whirl, spin (around). {18T}
wiilkaaq. fork. {8}
wiinaq. sea lion. {15}
yaamaq*. stone, rock.
    yaamaat. stones, rocks. {9}
yaasiik. box. {7}
yaatiiku. day after tomorrow. {8}
yaatiini. day before yesterday. {8}
yuu-
    yuuluni. to get out. {takes NP[abl]}
    yuuluku. to take it out, take it off, remove it {takes NP[abl]} {10}

+car-, -ngcar- (V[intr]\V[tr]). to perform a characteristic activity on O so as to cause it to V. {16}

+ciqe- (future). {8}

+cir-, -ngcir- (V[intr]\V[tr]). to leave O until it Vs;
to wait for O to V. {16}

+gkûar- {after V} (V\V[tr]). to cause to V;
to make, let, have (someone) V. {15}

+(ng)ilnguq*. one that doesn't have N, one that lacks N. {12}

+(ng)iqaute- (N\V[intr]). to run out of N; to be out of N. {12}

+(ng)ir- (N\V[trans]). to deprive of N; to remove N from;
to take N away from, out of, off of; to de-N.
(N\V[intr]). to take N off of oneself. {12}

+(ng)ite- (N\V[descr]). not to have N; to lack N. {12}

+(ng)i'ute- (N[weather]\V[impers.intr]). for N to stop. {17}

+(g)kaq (N\N). future N; that which is to be N. {18}

-kaʳaq* (N\N). the very N. {14}

+kau- (V\V). to be able to V, in a position to V, supposed to V:
can V; could V; would V; should V. {19}

~ke- (N\V[tr]). to have it as one's N':
for {OBJECT} to be {SUBJECT}'s N; to use it as a N. {19}

-ke- (V[descr]\V[tr]). to find it V[descr]':
for {OBJECT} to be (too) ADJ for {SUBJECT}. {19}

+kite- (N\V[descr]). to lack N; to have scarce N. {5}

~ksaite- (VV). to have not (yet) V-ed. {10}

~ksaillpiar- (emphatic negative perfect). has not V-ed at all. {17}

~ku (N[time]\N[time]). later on this N; next N, the coming N. {8}

~kutar- (VV). to be going to V, to be about to V' (immediate future) {10}

~kutarpiar- (emphatic immediate future). is just now going to V; is just about to V; is just on the verge of V-ing. {17}

-lek (N\V[intrans]·V[intrans]\N). one that has N. {11}

-liqe- (N\V[intr]). to have one's N hurt, ache. {12}

+(r)llainaq* (N\N). only N, nothing but N. {14}

-lleq (N\N). past N; former N; ex-N; deceased N; what used to be N; remains of N. {18}

-lle̲raq (N\N). bad N, awful N, worthless N.
    (plural: -lle̲raat o̲r̲ -lle̲rat). {3}
lnguq* (V[intr]\N). one that V[intr]-s. {5}
+(u)ma-[1] (V\V) NON-WITNESSED (indicates that the event or state was not witnessed first-hand by the speaker). {13}
+(u)ma-[2] (V\V[descr]) STATIVE:
    to be in a state resulting from V-ing'. {13}
+(r)miu^{g}aq*, +(r)miu(q) (N\N). person from N (a place).
    (plural +(r)miugaat, +(r)miut). {6}
+naa (V\interjection) how V-able! {5}
+nar- (V\V[descr]) to be liable to cause one to V; to be V-able;
    to be something one should V in reference to. {5}
+naite- (V\V[descr]) not to be liable to cause one to V. {5}
+nga- (V\V[descr]) STATIVE. {8, 13}
-ngcuk (N\N). little N, small N; little bit of N. {3}
-nge- (N\V[intrans]). to get, acquire N. {11}
-ngia^{r}aq (N\N). nice N, wonderful N, neat N.
    (plural: -ngiaraat). {3}
-ngqe̲rte- (N\V[intrans]). to have N; for there to be N. {11}
-nguaq (N\N). little N, small N. {2, 3}
-n'ite-, -n'e̲te- (V\V). not to V. {5}
-n'illpiar- (emphatic negative). does not V at all. {17}
+ningaite- (future negative). {8}
+ningaillpiar- (emphatic negative future). will not V at all. {17}
-nku-, +ku- (N\N). N and other(s). {7}
-nra (N[time]\N[time]). every N. {8}
+(r)pak (N[time]\N[time]). this N; last N, the past N. {8}
+(r)pakaq (N\N). much N, so much N, too much N.
    (plural: +(r)pakat. many Ns, so many Ns, too many Ns'). {3}
+piar- V\V. to really, truly V; to V exactly. {17}
+(r)piaq (N\N). real N, genuine N, true N. {14}
~qainar- (VV). just to V; only to V; to V, that's all. {10}
~qgûa- N[pos]\N. extreme N[pos], far N[pos], way N[pos]. {11}
~qlliq* (N[positional]\N[part]). N-ward one; N-ward part. {20}

~qllirpaaq (N[positional\N). N-most one, N-most part. {20}

+r- (added to borrowed stems; forms verbs of saying from interjections;
forms verbs of doing, acting, saying, speaking (in a certain way)
from comparative case nouns and adverbs;
forms wind direction terms from ablative directional adverbs). {13}

~raar- (VV). to V first (before doing something else). {10}

-sinaq (N\N). big N, large N. {3}

-sqaq (V[intr]\N). one that V[intr]-s. {4}

+(e)sqe- (V[tr]\V[tr]). to want (someone else) to V;
to tell or ask (someone) to V. {15}

+(r)sur- (N\V[intr]). to hunt or fish for N; to go after N. {4}

+suun (V\N). means, instrument, implement, tool for V-ing. {19}

+(r)suun (N\N). (something) used for N, something that goes on N. {19}

+suuteke- (V[intr]\V[tr]). to use it as an instrument for V-ing; to use it to V
with; to V with it. {19}

+ta (V[descr]\V[descr]). to V. {takes NP[compar]}. {14}

+taciq (V[descr]\N). degree, amount of V-ness. {14}

+tar- (V\V[descr]). to be apt to V; to V by nature. {5}

+taite- (V\V[descr]). not to be apt to V; not to V by nature. {5}

+taar- (V\V). to habitually V; to usually V; to always V. {5}

+te- (V[intr]\V[tr]). to cause O to V. {16}

+(r)te- (N\V[intr]). to kill or catch N; to get N (e.g. by hunting
or from the store); to do something for a unit of N[time]. {4, 10}

+(s)ta (stem: +(s)te-) (V\N). V-er; person that V-s. {7}

+(s)teke- (V[intr]\V[tr]). to have/use him/her as a V-er,
an agent for V-ing; to have him/her do the V-ing. {19}

+(u)te- (V\V[trans]) APPLICATIVE:
to V with, for'. {13, 20}

+te̱ste- {after C, te} (V\V[tr]). to cause to V;
to make, let, have (someone) V. {15}

+tu- (N\V[descr]). to abound in N; to have abundant N. {5}

+(r)tur- (N\V[intr]). to eat N. {4}

+(r)tuuma- (N\V[descr]). to be complete with N; to have N on/in one; to be
wearing N. {20}

+(r)tuumar- (N\Q). complete with N; N and all. {20}
+(ng)u- (N\V[descr]). to be N. {17}
+(ng)uar- (V\V). to sort of V; to do something like V-ing; to pretend to V; to V casually, for fun, for the heck of it. {17}
+(r)uaq (N\N). something like N, sort of N, imitation N, false N. {14}
+(ng)urte- (N\V[trans]). to cause to become N';
(intrans). to become N; to turn into N. {17}
+(ng)urte- (N[weather]\V[impers.obj]). for N to start. {17}
+(ng)utaar- (N[num]\V[intr/tr]. to do so (to it) Num at a time, Num by Num. {17}
+war- N[pos]\V[intr]. to go (further) toward N[pos]. {11}
+wik (V\N). place for V-ing. {6}
+wike- (V[intr]\V[tr]). to have/use it as a place for V-ing; to V on it. {19}
+yar- (V\V). to undertake V-ing; to have a go at V-ing; to take a V; to go (to a prearranged place) to V. {10, 20}
+yarau- (V\V). to have to V, need to V; to be supposed to V: should V, must V. {19}
+yaraite- (V\V). to not have to V; to not need to V. {19}
+yaraurte- (V[intr]\V[impers.tr]). for it to be time for O to V.
(V[tr]\V[impers.tr]). for it to be time to V O. {16}
+yatur- or +yartur- (V\V). to go (somewhere indefinite) to V; to go V-ing. {10}
+yug- (V\V). to want to V. {10}
+(r)yug- (N\V[intr]). to want N. {4}

-i (added to demonstrative adverb stems
and forms of the demonstrative gûa-) {2, 16}
-llu (with interrogative-word questions) -- could it be?. {2}
-llu (forms conjunct noun and verb phrases) and --. {7}
-mi (with interrogative-word questions) --, I wonder? {2}
-naa (implies that the hearer understands what the speaker is talking about)
--, you know. {16}
-qaa (forms yes/no questions) {2}
-ruq (emphatic) {16}
-tanem (with interrogative-word questions) --on earth? -- in the world?
-- the hell? {2}